MEMORIALS OF OLD LEICESTERSHIRE

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MEMORIALS OF THE COUNTIES OF ENGLAND

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MEMORIALS OF OLD LEICESTERSHIRE

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Ruins of Bradgate House, looking N.

MEMORIALS OF OLD LEICESTERSHIRE

EDITED BY

ALICE DRYDEN

EDITOR OF

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WITH MANY ILLUSTRATIONS

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PREFACE

IN this volume of the Memorials Series I have sought to include a few papers of adequate extent rather than try to present shortly many subjects that have been well dealt with elsewhere.

The Introductory chapter is thus written at greater length than in most of the Series, as I have tried to link the papers together and briefly bridge over the main gaps they left unfilled in the outline of the story of the county. I have gladly availed myself of Mr. Peake's and Mr. Horwood's papers, because I think that the civilisations and art workmanship before the Norman Conquest are too little appreciated.

My grateful thanks are due to the writers of the papers for their severally valuable contributions, to Mr. Henton who so generously placed his photographs at the service of the volume, and to Mr. J. B. Everard for the loan of some blocks and permission to quote from his book on Charnwood. Also to the Committee of the Leicester Museum, through the Curator, Mr. E. E. Lowe, for permission to have photographs of objects in his custody, and to Dr. R. C. Stewart, the Rev. F. W. Knox, Mr. S. Perkins Pick, and Mr. A. T. Draper for illustrations.

My thanks are also due to Miss C. M. Pochin, Mr. Albert Hartshorne, and others who have kindly helped with notes, and lastly on behalf of Mr. Weatherley and myself thanks must be expressed collectively to the Incumbents who have so kindly facilitated and helped the descriptions of the Effigies in their Churches.

ALICE DRYDEN.

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HISTORIC LEICESTERSHIRE

By Alice Dryden

LEICESTERSHIRE "hath the proportion of an hart, broad at the top, and narrower towards the bottom, which shape it truly beareth, for that it lieth almost in the hart and centre of the whole Continent of the Kingdome. The ayre is generally good, pure and healthfull, by reason whereof many sweet and pleasant seats and dwellings are here found, healthfull by nature and much beautified by Art and industry." Thus did William Burton write of his county in the reign of the first James. His *Description of Leicestershire* is a famous book, from the early date of its collection—it was only preceded in county histories by Lambarde's *Kent*, Carew's *Cornwall*, and Norden's *Surveys*—and, according to Fuller, from having inspired the more learned Dugdale: "*The sparks* of his *Ingenuity* herein have since *set fire* on to Mr. Dugdale, my worthy Friend, to do the like to Warwickshire."

Leicestershire has been singularly fortunate in the number and ability of its historians, beginning with Henry Knighton, the monkish chronicler, down to the present day. It is difficult to write of the history of the shire as distinct from the town of Leicester, which is the centre, the focusing point of the county. In Roman times the station then called Ratæ, situated on the great Fosse Way from the south-west to the north-east of Britain, developed into an important town, traces of whose early greatness still remain. The interregnum between the end of the Roman domination and the rule of the Teuton is not especially marked in the county, but the probability is that the

non-Romanised Celtic people reasserted themselves strongly in places, and the Celtic name of Caer Lerion was either revived or given to Ratæ. When the Teutonic peoples gradually spread over the county, and when the Heptarchy was formed, Mercia, which included Leicestershire, was the central kingdom. By this time Christianity had spread among the people, and Leicester, with Lichfield, became a bishopric; later, about the year 737, it was made into a separate See. Where the Church of St. Margaret now rises was the site of the first cathedral, and the bishop's residence is said to have stood where the vicarage is now. The portions of land, called in old deeds "Bishop's Fee" and "Bishop's Farm," are thought to date back to this foundation of the See; for in the next century, when the Danes took possession of the town, the bishopric was transferred to Dorchester in Oxfordshire, and after the Conquest Leicestershire was included in the diocese of Lincoln till it was joined to Peterborough in the nineteenth century. In Leicester it is probable that the churches of St. Martin and St. Nicholas were founded during this period of Anglo-Saxon Christianity, and were on the site of Roman buildings. Although no pre-Conquest building remains, St. Nicholas contains portions of pre-Conquest work in the north wall of the nave and some small windows fashioned partly of Roman bricks. At Birstall, in the north wall of the chancel, is a Saxon window, with remains of a wooden midwall slab with apertures cut in a design of interlaced circles.

The conquering Romans had come from the south, and made roads and established order—the *Pax Romana*—as they went. The Teutons had spread along the Roman roads, which would still be in perfect condition for them; but the next conquerors, the ravaging Norsemen, arrived in the peaceful valleys of Leicestershire by water in boats.

So far as we know, the Danes established themselves in large numbers in the northern and eastern counties before making incursions into Leicestershire.

But from about A.D. 850 bands of invaders, finding the most fertile tracts in the neighbourhood of the North Sea already occupied by their countrymen, were forced to go further inland in order to obtain a settlement. Some of these bands accordingly followed the course of the Trent to the spot where it joins the Soar, and they found the fertile valleys of that river and the Wreake suitable to their requirements.

They increased so rapidly that in 874 they drove the Mercian king Burhed from his throne and conferred the kingdom upon Ceolwulf; three years later taking the towns of Leicester, Derby, Nottingham, Stamford, and Lincoln out of his hands and forming them into a confederation known as the Five Boroughs or the Danelaw.

The town of Leicester then remained uninterruptedly under Danish rule for a period of forty years.

The Danes stamped their nationality to so great an extent on this district that in Domesday Book the county divisions, called Hundreds through nearly the whole of England, are in Leicestershire and four other counties only, designated by the Scandinavian word "Wapentake."

The shire was called Leicester after the *burh* or strong place. It is uncertain whether or not the *burh* was among those founded or renewed by Edward and Ethelfleda.

Of Ethelfleda, "Lady of the Mercians," and daughter of King Alfred, it is told by the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle that "with the aid of God, in the early part of the year (918), she got into her power peacefully the *burh* at Leicester, and subdued to herself the largest part of the Danish army that owned allegiance thereto"; but she died almost directly afterwards, and Leicester was again in Danish hands during Athelstane's reign.

Matthew of Westminster states that Onlaf of Norway and Edmund, Athelstane's successor, encountered each other at Legecesterian, probably Leicester, and decided after a drawn battle that Onlaf should possess the land

north of Watling Street, and Edmund that on the south, the survivor having the whole. Thus on Onlaf's death in 941 all the five Danish boroughs came into Edmund's possession.

The history of this period is obscure, as in one record it is stated that Edmund is fighting against the Five Boroughs in 942, and, in another, that Onlaf, coming down to harass Mercia a year later, was besieged in Leicester by Edmund, who proved victorious.

Ælfric, ealdorman of the Mercians, appears to have encouraged a new invasion in 986, and Leicester fell by turns into the hands of the contending parties, till in 1016 Canute became sole King of England.

The mediæval history of the shire was dominated by the Norman nobles. Leicester itself was fortunate in having as its masters a succession of powerful chiefs who were able men of high character. When new officers, with the title of Earls, were appointed to various divisions of England, Leicester, in the reign of Edward the Confessor, became the seat of an Earldom. Leofric, Earl of Coventry and Leicester, with his wife, Lady Godiva, were at Leicester Castle in 1051 for the purpose of witnessing the grant of a charter for building and endowing the monastery at Spalding. Their grandson, Edwin, was slain fighting against William of Normandy, who had in 1068 captured Leicester. Most of the ownership of the town was then apportioned between the King, and Hugh de Grentemesnil, who was appointed governor of Leicester and sheriff of the shire, in which he held sixty-seven manors.

Amongst the favours bestowed on Hugh were the Honour or Barony of Hinckley and the Lord Stewardship of England (which was at that time made hereditary), to be held together.[1]

[1] Nichols gives that "the king richly married him to Adeliza, a great inheritrix of a noble family, and at the solemnisation thereof bestowed on him the honourable office of Lord High Steward of England." On the other hand, Orderic observes that his wife was Adelaide, daughter of Ivo de Beaumont, who was very handsome, and that Hugh had to return to Normandy in 1068, in order, it is said, to prevent her getting into mischief!

Amongst the Domesday tenants-in-chief were Robert de Todeni, who built Belvoir Castle (to be succeeded in the next century by de Albini); Geoffrey de "Wirce," said by Orderic to surpass all the magnates of the realm and nearly all his own kinsfolk in wealth and power; the Count of Meulan; Robert Dispensator (to be succeeded later by a Beauchamp, a Marmion, and a Tuchet); Geoffrey de la Guerche, whose possessions came into the hands of the de Mowbrays of Melton; Henry de Ferrers; Robert de Busci, who next century had given place to a Basset of Sapcote.

Hugh de Grentemesnil built a castle in Leicester[1] in the Norman fashion, and by means of his garrison imposed the foreign yoke on the county.

There is considerable doubt as to whether or not Leicester was destroyed when it passed into the hands of the Conqueror. The record in Domesday of 322 houses, 6 churches, and 2 mills with only 64 burgesses seems to point to a destruction of inhabitants having taken place. Mr. J. H. Round, on the other hand, arrives at the conclusion that, "as it happens, we can not only discredit the suggested 'destruction' in the days of the Conqueror; we can actually fix its date as the reign of Henry I."[2] (1101), when Ivo de Grentemesnil, who had succeeded his father

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[1] Other castles were built after the Conquest and in succeeding years. In the reign of John there were standing in the county eleven fortified castles, which were probably Leicester, Belvoir, Mountsorrel, Sauvy; Hinckley, built by Hugh de Grentemesnil, where he also enclosed a park and caused a parish church to be built; Whitwick and Earl Shilton, founded by Robert Earl of Leicester, probably le Bossu; Thorpe Arnold by Ernald de Bois; Melton by Roger Mowbray; Donington, built by Eustace, Baron of Haulton; and Segrave; Sapcote may also have had a castle or only a moated house. Burton is no doubt correct in writing: "Most of these castles, during the unquiet reigns of King Henry II., King John, and King Henry III., being held by rebellious barons, were by command of the last king utterly demolished, and though some of them were afterwards rebuilt, yet at this day (1622) there is not one remaining entire, and even most of them are entirely defaced." At the present time, besides those mentioned on other pages, there remains the sites only of Earl Shilton, Groby, Hinckley, and Whitwick.

[2] *Feudal England.*

Hugh as the King's reeve and representative, took part in the rebellion against the King and waged war against his neighbours. Ivo has the evil reputation of being the first person to introduce private warfare into England. He was tried and condemned as a leading rebel.

After Ivo's condemnation, Robert de Beaumont, Count of Meulan, who had already great possessions in the county, advanced him the means to take a pilgrimage in return for the pledge of part of his Leicestershire fiefs, which he afterwards refused to return.[1] Beaumont "is distinctly stated by Orderic to have been created Earl of Leicester ('inde consul in Anglia factus'). But of this the Lords Committee 'found no evidence.' Nor does he appear to have been so styled, though he possessed the *tertius denarius*, and though that dignity devolved upon his son."[2]

Henry of Huntingdon writes of Robert de Beaumont that he was a man of great ability and importance, "in worldly affairs the wisest man betwixt England and Jerusalem," and also relates that when urged on his death-bed to make restitution of some of his unjustly acquired lands, Beaumont answered that he would leave them to his sons, that they might provide for his salvation!

Count Robert certainly built a Church of St. Mary de Castro and founded for it a college of secular canons; whether it was finished by his son or rebuilt after the siege of 1173 is unknown, but the beautiful and rare Norman sedilia still preserved to us are late work of that style. To him in all probability is also due the splendid hall of the castle; it was not attached to the mount or keep, and so would not necessarily have been injured by the King's command of destruction in 1174. It is thought that to Count Robert's good government was due, among other useful works, the original West Bridge.

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[1] Ivo had a son, Hugh, who regained some of his father's possessions, including the Honour of Hinckley and the High Stewardship, which later passed by inheritance to the Earls of Leicester, through the marriage of his daughter Petronilla or Pernelle to Robert Blanchesmains.

[2] Mr. J. H. Round in *Dictionary of National Biography*.

The son and successor of the first Beaumont lord was Robert le Bossu. He carried out his father's dying suggestion, and did much to encourage the growing movement of Monasticism by various religious foundations, of which the most notable were those in Leicestershire—the Cistercian Monastery of Garendon, and the Abbey of St. Mary de Pratis for Augustinian Canons outside the town of Leicester. The Abbey, starting with Beaumont's rich endowment, became a powerful community, but now is possibly best remembered as the last resting-place which the dying Cardinal Wolsey sought, on his way as a prisoner to London.[1]

The next Earl, Robert Blanchesmains, succeeded his father in 1168, and was so ill advised as to join in the feudal rising that championed the cause of Prince Henry against Henry II., who sent Richard de Lucy with an army against Leicester. The town was taken, and burnt in July 1173. It was not till a year later that the Earl's besieged castellan of the castle, Anquetil de Mallory, broke out and ravaged the country, and Henry ordered the confiscation of his castles of Leicester, Groby, and Mountsorrel. The two first-named were destroyed; but though the imprisoned Earl was set at liberty, it was not till 1177 that he had his honours and castles (except Mountsorrel) returned to him. He was then completely reinstated in kingly favour, and after his death abroad on his way home from a pilgrimage, Richard I. invested his son Robert Fitz-Parnel with the

[1] Of the actual Abbey there is now nothing to be traced, though the site is marked by the remains of the Cavendish mansion; the boundary, however, in Abbey Lane is doubtless part of Abbot Penny's (1496–1508) "bricke walles" recorded by Leland.

Amongst other monastic foundations of the twelfth century were Croxton of the Premonstratensian Order, Osvelston, Bredon, and Launde, all of the Black Canons of St. Augustine, Langley Nunnery, and the Commanderies of Old Dalby and Rothley of the Knights Templars. Also the Leper Hospital of Burton Lazars, the chief of all the lazar houses in England, and subject only to the great house at Jerusalem. It was built by a general collection throughout England, the principal contributor being Roger de Mowbray of Melton. A spring of repute was the cause of the foundation at Burton, which so late as the eighteenth century, when the mania for mineral waters was at a great height, was utilised as a bath and drinking-well.

Earldom of Leicester. This Fitz-Parnel, with his royal master, took a distinguished part in foreign wars, without doubt greatly to the impoverishment of his estates. It was the heraldic coat of Fitz-Parnel Earl of Leicester (*gules*, a cinquefoil *ermine*) that became the arms of Leicester town.

By the time John came to reign, the town had recovered its population and received more than one royal charter at the hands of the "Chartermonger" King, and during the same reign Leicester was the scene of a meeting of the barons, the first open expression of their hostility to their sovereign, which afterwards culminated in the defiance at Runnymede. John, who was a great wanderer, is not known to have stayed in the town, but is recorded as sleeping at Bosworth, Mountsorrel, and Melton, among other places.

Early in the thirteenth century (1204) Robert Fitz-Parnel died abroad, childless, when the great inheritance of the last Beaumont passed to his sister Amicia's son, Simon de Montfort. Although recognised by John as Earl of Leicester, he had to pay the penalty of having entered on his French inheritance by losing his English estates, which John confiscated in 1207, and only yielded the honour of Leicester into the hands of Ralf, Earl of Chester, nephew of Simon, in 1215, for "the benefit of the said Simon," to gain reconciliation with the Pope. De Montfort had by this time practically become master of southern France by his skill in the Crusade against the Albigenses, and was therefore high in the Pope's favour. He was killed at Toulouse 1218, and was never in England. It remained for his third son Simon to regain his English patrimony. Having displeased the Queen of France about 1229, he accepted his elder brother's suggestion to give up to him his share of the continental inheritance in exchange for a problematical success in England. "Hereupon," he says himself, "I went to England and besought my lord the King that he would restore my father's heritage unto me."[1]

[1] Bibl. Nat. Clairembault, 1188, fol. 80; quoted in *Simon de Montfort*, Charles Bémont.

But it was not till 1230, after some efforts, that "the King received my homage and gave me back my lands." Amongst the causes in his favour not the least seem to have been the kindness and generosity of the Earl of Chester (who was ready to give back to Simon his estates that Henry had given meanwhile to Chester), and doubtless also Simon's own gallant bearing, that was to captivate later on no less a personage than the King's sister Alianor (widow of the Earl of Pembroke), who became his wife. It was not till after a renunciation from his brother in 1239 that Simon became undisputed Earl of Leicester.[1] In the meantime the heirs of Amicia's younger sister had obtained a large share of the Leicester property, and what remained to him Simon declared had suffered so much destruction of wood and other great damages done by divers people to whom the King had given it in charge, "that it was inadequate to support the dignity of an Earl." Some relief was granted by Henry III. in 1232 by means of a licence to keep in Simon's own hands any escheats of land held by Normans of his fee in England.

A prince among administrators, a strong man marvellously versatile, great alike in war and peace, great in faith and love of justice, his government of the town and of his estates was without doubt wise and good, for he earned the sobriquet of "Simon the Righteous."[2] In private life he was noted for his simplicity, piety, and culture; three of his friends and counsellors were Walter de Cantelupe,

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[1] Simon had styled himself Earl of Leicester since 1231, and had claimed at the King's marriage in 1236 to fulfil his hereditary functions of High Steward.

[2] In spite of prohibitions from Pope and King, Simon was worshipped as a saint for many years by the vulgar. A liturgy was composed in his honour, and worship was offered to him. A portion of one of the hymns has come down to us. It begins:—

> "Simon de Montfort, hail, all hail!
> Hail knighthood's flower and grace,
> Who, suffering, entered death's dark vale,
> Protector of the English race."

He had been the especial friend of those powerless to protect themselves.

Bishop of Worcester, the great and just administrator; Robert Grossetete, the famous Bishop of Lincoln, who at one time held the living of St. Margaret's, in Leicester; and Adam de Marisco, a learned Franciscan, whom, with Grossetete, Roger Bacon repeatedly describes as "perfect in all wisdom," and "the greatest clerks in the world." Grossetete and Earl Simon both favoured the Franciscans, and to the latter was due the encouragement of settlements of the Friars that did much in the thirteenth century to raise the standard of life and religion.[1]

The public career of Simon de Montfort belongs to the history of England.

After his death on the battlefield at Evesham (1265) his title and estates were forfeit to the King, whose son, Edward I., afterwards (1274) granted them to his brother, Edmund Plantagenet, who already was Earl of Lancaster, under which title Leicester then became merged, and its castle became an occasional place of residence of a great Prince. The first Lancastrian ruler is remembered by the town for his ordering the hall of his castle as the place for the newly-appointed itinerant Judges to hold their Court of Justice. It was no doubt also owing to his influence that Leicester obtained the "Great Charter" in 1278.

Thomas, the second Plantagenet Earl, who succeeded his father in 1299, was a noble of high importance but with small personal connection with his Leicestershire property. During his tenure there were several royal visits to Leicester, not the least imposing of which must have been the great assembly of barons (1318) before which the Earl, at the head of 18,000 men, met Edward II. and his Queen and two Cardinal Legates with their retinue at "Syroches Bridge," which now, says Henry of Knighton, is called "Cotes Brige" (probably Cotes on the banks of the

[1] De Montfort founded in Leicester the Friary of the Dominicans at St. Clement's, *Le Black Freears in le Ashes*, as there were at that time ash-trees growing on the spot; and the Franciscans or Grey Friars had a priory on the south side of St. Martin's Church.

Soar near Prestwold), where salutations were exchanged between them in apparently the most cordial manner. During the King's visit a great assembly was held at Leicester.

The following years were onerous ones in the county, when the Earl was calling on the services of his men-at-arms in his struggles with the King, so that it cannot have been an unmixed disaster when the end was put in 1322 to Thomas's life.[1] His brother Henry, distinguished by the sobriquet of *de Torto Collo*—Wry-neck—put up a cross outside the town of Leicester on behalf of Thomas's soul. He was restored to the Earldom of Leicester and High Stewardship of England in 1324, but it was not till 1330 that he obtained the reversal of his brother's attainder and was confirmed in all the great possessions of Robert de Ferrers and Simon de Montfort that had been granted to his father. Henry of Lancaster, who was a man of high character and sound judgment, was made guardian of the young King, Edward III., but found himself with no power, owing to the conduct of the Queen-dowager and her favourite Mortimer. This put him in opposition to the King, and caused the Royal army to enter Leicester, 1329, and lay waste the surrounding country.

By the time of the reversal of Earl Thomas's attainder, Earl Henry's blindness forced him to retire from active life, and he decided to live in his castle of Leicester, which he enlarged and improved the better to befit the great state he kept up and the princely entertainments he dispensed.

Outside the castle he built and endowed the Trinity or Bede House Hospital,[2] and a church dedicated to the

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[1] It is curious that Earl Thomas was the second Earl of Leicester who became a popular saint. Many miracles were reported as wrought at the tomb of St. Thomas of Lancaster.

[2] Trinity Hospital was altered in the time of George III. and demolished altogether in the latter end of the nineteenth century, which period was responsible for much destruction in Leicester. The chapel with some of its fittings was spared.

The beautiful Collegiate Church of Our Lady perished at the Reformation.

Annunciation of the Blessed Virgin Mary, both within fortified walls called the New Worke. The "Magazine" gateway of the Newarke now remaining is possibly of fifty years' later date, and belongs to the additions carried out by John of Gaunt.

In 1345 Earl Henry died, and was buried by the high altar of the church of his Hospital. He was succeeded by his son, who became a still greater personage than his father and known in Leicester as the "good Duke."

A gallant and distinguished soldier and statesman, "Henry of Lancaster" was esteemed throughout Europe as a perfect knight; he was brave, courteous, charitable, just, and at once magnificent and personally temperate in his habits. He had a thorough knowledge of public affairs, was a wise counsellor, and was loved and trusted by Edward III. beyond any other of his lords. Like his father, Earl Henry, he was religious, and during his last days is said to have been much given to prayer and good works, and to have written a book of devotions called *Mercy Gramercy*.[1]

The dukedom of Lancaster was conferred on him in 135½, four years after he had been made one of the original Knights of the Order of the Garter.

To the Church of Our Lady in the Newarke he added a college with a Dean and Canons, "Collegium novi-operis," and here he was buried by the side of the altar, with great ceremony, in the presence of the King and his Court, having survived the endless battles in which he took part to succumb to the plague that devastated England in 1361.

The death of the "good Duke" must have entailed for some little time the dispersion of the great household and an untenanted castle. The Leicestershire property passed to his elder daughter, called Maud or Matilda, the Duchess of Zealand, who came over to England to claim her estates, and fell a victim, like her father, to the

[1] *Dictionary of National Biography.*

pestilence. Thus the whole inheritance fell to the younger daughter, Blanche, wife of John of Gaunt, who was already rising into power, that by right of his wife was destined to be so largely augmented. He became Earl of Lancaster, Derby, Lincoln, and Leicester, and High Steward of England. In November 1362 he was created Duke of Lancaster, and invested with the Duchy by his father, the King, who girded him with a sword and set on his head a cap of fur with a circlet of gold and pearls. During the next few years John of Gaunt remained in England, and both he and his wife visited their domains.

He was, however, absent in Picardy when Blanche died of the plague, seven years after it had carried off her sister; and all England mourned at the same time for the deaths of the two noble women—Queen Philippa and the Duchess of Lancaster. Chaucer, in the "Book of the Duchess," has celebrated John of Gaunt's love story and the graces of his wife:—

> "When that thou toke my lady swete?
> That was so fayr, so fresh, so free,
> So good, that men may wel (y)-see
> Of al goodnesse she had no mete!"

Blanche presumably died at Leicester, and (like her husband in years to come) was buried in St. Paul's Cathedral, whither their bodies were severally taken by regal progresses, with ceremonial services at the halting-places. She left an only son, destined to reign as Henry IV.

John of Gaunt continued to make occasional stays at Leicester, and at the castle was signed, on the 3rd of February 1398, his famous will. Exactly a year later, in the same place, he died, worn out and broken down.[1] His

[1] "De gravi languore moritur."—*Eulog.* 381.

If the Duke had died at Ely House, Holborn, as some of the chronicles state, it would not have been necessary for his body to pass through St. Albans on the way to Fleet Street.

The true tradition has been preserved by Higden (viii. 506) and Otterbourne (197).—C. F. Froissart, K. de L., xvi. 137–141; Sidney Armitage-Smith, *John of Gaunt.*

As there has been some doubt if John of Gaunt did die at Leicester, I

body, at his expressed wish, was taken to the church of his favourite Order, the Carmelites in Fleet Street, before interment at St. Paul's: "juxte ma treschere jadys compaigne Blanch illeoq's enterre."

As administrator of his estates, the Duke of Lancaster was probably a just overlord. He was kind and charitable to the poor, and would appear to have been popular amongst his own people what time he was not always so in other parts. It was owing to him that Wycliffe was brought into the county and converted it to a centre of Lollardism. From the living of Lutterworth for the last ten years of his life, 1374–84, John Wycliffe ceased not to promulgate his ideas by preaching, agitating, writing, and stirring up others to crusade in like manner.

It was a strange alliance, that of Lancaster and Wycliffe. They were practically only agreed on one point—the humiliation of the prelates. The reason for this alliance is well summed up as follows: "Lancaster, feudal to the core, resented the official arrogance of the prelates and the large share which they drew to themselves of the temporal power. Wycliffe dreamt of restoring, by apostolical poverty, its long-lost apostolical purity to the clergy. From points so opposite and with aims so contradictory were they united to reduce the wealth and humble the pride of the English hierarchy." [1] On Wycliffe's part he believed that in John

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am indebted to Mr. Armitage-Smith for the following further note of additional evidence :—

"The Duke was at Leicester Castle on

24 Oct.	1398,	see	*Rot. Pat.*,	vi. 496
4 Nov.	,,	,,	*ibid.*	494
24 Dec.	,,	,,	,,	569
28 Dec.	,,	,,	,,	524
2 Jan.	1399	,,	,,	489 and 500.
4 Jan.	,,	,,	,,	569
23 Jan.	,,	,,	,,	478

"It is probable that the Duke never left Leicester Castle after his arrival there from Pomfret on 24 Oct. 1398 ; and it is practically certain that he could not have left it after 23 Jan., *i.e.* eleven days before he died."

[1] Introduction to *Fasciculi Zizaniorum Magistri J. Wyclif.* W. W. Shirley. Rolls Series.

of Gaunt he had found a man who not only had the power, but also the inclination, to reform the abuses of this time.

Two of Wycliffe's "poor priests or scholars" that he sent out as missionaries—Leicestershire men—Smith, a layman, and Waytestaff, a priest, stirred crowds of listeners by the Belgrave Gate at Leicester, within sight of the Abbey, but they overreached themselves by their great profanity, and were banished from the place.

More successful was William Swynderby, who lived in the woods outside the town, whence he came to preach vigorously against the abuses of the day in the churches of St. Martin and St. Margaret. In the county he went to various villages, so that after he recanted his doctrines on being cited to appear before the Bishop at Lincoln, he had to publicly disown them in the two churches above mentioned, and St. Mary of the Newarke in Leicester, and in those of Melton, Hallaton, Harborough, and Loughborough.

After Wycliffe's death one of his great disciples was John Purvey, who had been his colleague at Lutterworth, and a co-translator of the Bible. This translation was the most lasting product of Wycliffe's life, and gives him just claim to the title of "Father of English Prose"; for it is owing to this work, which was largely done in the little vicarage of Lutterworth, that his fame has come down through the ages. Great as had been his influence, not only in Leicestershire, but throughout England, and great as was the zeal of his picturesque russet-clad preachers,[1] it is doubtful if the movement influenced the Reformation beyond the fact of facilitating the reading of the Bible. Lollardry continued to grow for some years till vigorous persecution set in, when, amongst other dark deeds, not the least was the desecration of Wycliffe's bones; they were exhumed, burnt, and the ashes thrown into the stream at Lutterworth. Wycliffe's most influential convert was Queen Anne of Bohemia, who with Richard II. was

[1] Their robes were most probably made of Leicestershire "russet" wool.

more than once in the county with Lord Beaumont at Beaumanor.

The duchy of Lancaster having become merged in the Crown, there is no further record of Leicester Castle serving as a continuous residence, after the early days of Henry IV.'s reign, when the little Prince "Hal" was there as a child.

As a royal building of some size, not too near London, it figures in the assembly of three notable Parliaments—1414, 1426, and 1450—though the debates of the first in order of date was actually held in the Hall of the Grey Friars. This Parliament was remarkable for the legislation against the Lollards; here, where their teaching was so prominent, was their extermination decided on; probably at that juncture the decision was brought to a head owing to a recent rising of the Lollards having taken place in London. This Parliament too gave Henry V. the power to finally suppress the alien priories.

The next assembly was summoned to meet in the Castle Hall with a view of making peace between the uncles of King Henry VI.; it was known as the "Parliament of Bats," because the members came armed with "bats" or bludgeons in their hands, owing, it is said, to their being forbidden to carry sharper weapons of offence. During this session the little King and his Court were at the Castle under the Regent John Duke of Bedford, and with much ceremony Henry at five years old was formally made a knight in the Church of St. Mary de Castro. As the son of the able and popular Henry V., much no doubt was then hoped from him in the future, but before the 1450 Parliament was held the gentle scholarly King had proved his utter incapacity to rule, and all was confusion at the seat of Government on the breaking out of Jack Cade's rebellion.

At this period, when Leicester ceased to be the centre of a powerful noble, began the rise of the Hastings family, who, with their castles of Kirby Muxloe and Ashby-de-la-Zouch, figure prominently in the history of the time. At the other

end of the county the lords of Belvoir had kept on their way; later times were to see them still greater men.

Till the fifteenth century there had been no dominant lord other than of Leicester; important Barons there were—Mowbray of Melton, Basset of Sapcote, and Segrave of Segrave, also Zouche of Ashby, and Ferrers of Groby, who had come into the county by marriage with the descendants of the Beaumont co-heiress; but of castle or even fortified or moated houses there were singularly few in Leicestershire, and it is probable that the beginning of the Wars of the Roses found the strongholds of Belvoir and Leicester alone in repair. Hastings's two castles were built during the struggle.

The county had during the years of peace been free to develop its wool trade, and make the beginnings of its coal industry of to-day.

The town of Leicester, in the Wars of the Roses, forsook its Lancastrian allegiance, and its men fought for the Yorkists at Towton under Sir William Hastings. A contemporary ballad runs:—

> "The wolf cam fro Worcester, ful sure he thought to byte;
> The dragon cam fro Gloucester, he bent his tayle to smyte;
> The griffin cam fro Leycester, flying in as lyte (quickly);
> The George cam fro Nottingham, wit spere for to fyte."

Hastings was from the first a champion of Edward of York, and his first reward was the grant of the manor of Ashby-de-la-Zouch.

Another Leicestershire family, the Greys of Groby, were destined to rise with meteoric splendour, along with the Northamptonshire Widvilles of Grafton, owing to the fascinations of one Elizabeth Widville, widow of Sir John Grey, who had been killed fighting against the Yorkists at the battle of St. Albans.

It was Edward IV.'s marriage and the favours that followed to his new relations that brought about his discomfiture by the Earl of Warwick, the "King-Maker," in 1470. For some months Edward fled the country, and on

his return in March 1471 he came to Leicester, where he was met by the faithful Lord Hastings, who had collected "ryght-a-fayre felawshipe of folks to the nomber of 3000 men, well habyled for the wars," so that the King left the town "better accompanied than he had been at any time before" to fight the battle at Barnet.

Only for a few years was the country at peace, during which Edward granted several municipal privileges to the town. On his death in 1483, Richard the Protector speedily made a pretext to seize and behead Lords Hastings and Rivers and Richard Grey, brother to the Marquis of Dorset. The Marquis escaped to Brittany and sided with Henry of Richmond, where, like Hastings, he changed his opinions and intrigued with the opposite party; but, more fortunate than Hastings, Henry left him behind in custody out of harm's way when he sailed for England, and eventually restored him to all his honours.

When Richard III. knew that an invasion on the part of the Earl of Richmond was imminent, he withdrew to Nottingham Castle, thinking that it would be a good central position should the invasion really take place. Thus it was at Nottingham that the King heard the news that Richmond had landed at Milford Haven and had already made his way to Shrewsbury. The King set out at once, with as many men as he could muster, for Leicester. He probably arrived at Leicester on the evening of August 20th (1845) and spent the night there. There is a curious legend relative to Richard's lodging on this particular occasion. The story goes that instead of spending the night at the castle, he slept at the "White Boar" Inn, afterwards called the "Blue Boar,"[1] and that he hid in the false bottom of the bedstead £300, which was afterwards found in the time of Elizabeth. The landlord, finding this treasure, became

[1] In James I.'s days "King Richard's bedstead" was a reputed fact, but there is no reason why he should not have slept in his castle, which was certainly habitable, as he had occupied it recently.

The old bedstead from the "Blue Boar," still preserved at Beaumanor Park, is of Elizabethan design.

rich, and after his death his widow was murdered on account of her wealth. Although Richard's place of lodging remains in doubt, the Rolls of Parliament confirm the fact that on the day before St. Bartholomew's Day the King mustered his forces, and, wearing his crown upon his head, marched out of Leicester with all pomp and splendour. Another strange story connected with Richard at Leicester is that when he was riding over the Bow Bridge[1] his spur struck against one of the stones, and a "wise woman," seeing this, told him that where his spur had struck his head should be broken. This prophecy was fulfilled, for when Richard's body was brought back to Leicester, the head, hanging down on one side of the horse, struck against the bridge. On the night of August 21st the King encamped south of Market Bosworth, beside the village of Sutton Cheyney. The battle took place the next day. Henry of Richmond, under the skilful guidance of a Warwickshire man, one John Hardwick, had marched from Atherstone to Whitemoor, adjoining Redmoor, on the 21st. By this position it was secured to Henry that when he advanced to the battle next day he had a morass on his right flank, and his forces were disposed so that they had the great advantage of the sun behind them. Lord Stanley with his men were apart, and his brother, Sir William Stanley, was, with another independent force, probably at Nether Coton.

Richard without doubt was on Ambian Hill; he had the larger force, but Henry is thought to have had the best artillery.

The final issue rested with the Stanleys, who had all the power of Lancashire, Cheshire, and North Wales at their back. Lord Stanley was Henry's stepfather, but he dared not take part in the battle till the victory was somewhat assured, for he feared to risk the life of his son, Lord

[1] This mediæval bridge was destroyed in 1862. It carried the Fosse Way over the Soar.

Close by it was a high single-arched footpath connecting parts of the Augustinian Priory. This was probably the original Bow Bridge. It disappeared some years earlier than the larger one.

Strange, who was a hostage in Richard's hands, and would have been put to death had Stanley gone over to Henry too soon.

It was after Lord Stanley had joined the Tudor forces that Richard was informed that his rival was posted not far off with but a slender guard. Tradition says he then took a draught at the spring now called "King Dickon's Well"; then calling for his battle-axe and his crown, he set spurs to his horse, and with the splendid courage that distinguished him he first hurled himself at Brandon, the standard-bearer, whom he killed, then unhorsing Sir John Cheney, renowned for his size and great strength, he succeeded in engaging Henry in personal combat just as again the cry was raised of "A Stanley! a Stanley!" as Sir William, with his men in their red coats bearing his cognisance of a hart's head, swept down to cut off the King's retreat.

Richard was urged to fly, but it was too late; and whilst shouting "Treason!" he fell, overpowered by numbers and done to death with numerous wounds. His death was the end of the battle, and the defeated Yorkists were pursued by Richmond and Lord Stanley; from the human bones and armour long afterwards picked up, it is conjectured that they fled in the direction of Stoke Golding. When the victory was complete, Henry first knelt down and thanked God for his success, then addressing his soldiers he was acclaimed with cries of "King Henry!" Lord Stanley placed Richard's battered crown on his stepson's head amid renewed acclamations of "Long live King Henry!"[1] and after a Te Deum had been sung the first Tudor sovereign of England set out to make a great entry into Leicester.

[1] All this took place, no doubt, on Crown Hill, upon a nodule of volcanic rock, now grassed over, and situated near some poplars, a little to the south of Stoke Golding.

"The crown had been snatched from the fallen Richard's helm by one of the many plunderers of his person, who had secreted it under a thorn-bush; it fell into the hands of Sir Reginald Bray, and he was thus at this opportune time enabled to produce it."—*Transactions of the Leicestershire Archæological Society*, vol. ii.

It was necessary to prove to all men that King Richard was veritably dead; search was made for his body, and when it was found unseemly indignities were showered upon it. Covered with blood and stripped naked, it was borne back to Leicester, bound on the back of the horse of one of Richard's Pursuivants.

At Leicester the body was exposed for two days to public view in the Newarke Church, and then buried with little ceremony in Grey Friars, or, as Burton puts it, "homely buried, where afterwards King Henry VII. (out of a royal disposition) erected to him a faire alabaster monument, with his picture cut out and made thereon."

At the Dissolution of the monasteries tradition states that Richard's bones were carried through the streets of Leicester by a mob and thrown under the end of the Bow Bridge.

From the battle of Bosworth till the Civil War Leicestershire enjoyed peace within its borders. What great changes took place were economic, and brought about mainly by the Reformation and the Dissolution of the monasteries.

Shortly before this great upheaval in the religious life of England, the death and burial of Cardinal Wolsey took place in Leicester Abbey. The dying statesman was on his way as a prisoner to London by order of his ungrateful King, when he halted at St. Mary de Pratis and said prophetically to the Abbot as they met, "Father Abbot, I am come to leave my bones among you;" and again when he died, three days later, he uttered the famous words, "If I had served my God as I have served my king, He would not have deserted me in my grey hairs."

The lamentable history of the Dissolution is much the same story in Leicestershire as elsewhere. First, the lesser monastic houses, then the larger ones, and finally the Colleges, Chantries, and Guilds were swept away in succession. What has been termed Cromwell's "Reign of Terror" set in; the buildings were stripped of anything

movable that could be sold; the churches and tombs desecrated; plunder and waste everywhere.

But the parish churches were at this time spared, to be dismantled in the iconoclastic Reformation under Edward VI.

The last confiscation, which included the Guilds, no doubt hit the people of Leicester hard, for they had several rich communities; and there must have been general dislocation when almost every school and what answered to friendly societies, workhouses, and hospitals were all swept away.

No new foundation in the county was created out of the revenues, though amongst the good intentions of Henry VIII. that came to nought was a bishopric of Leicester; but the neighbouring Abbot of Peterborough proved himself more complacent about the surrender than did his brother of St. Mary de Pratis, so that he got his reward and was made the first Bishop of Peterborough.

Possibly the finest character amongst the Reformers was a Leicestershire man, Hugh Latimer, born at Thurcaston of yeoman parentage. When at Oxford at Corpus Christi, the newly founded secular college of Bishop Foxe, who had been Archdeacon of Leicester, he was a zealous Papist, but from real conviction turned to the reformed religion, and with his honesty and humour, his powerful preaching pleaded its cause more effectively than all the fanatical edicts. Latimer was burnt at the stake in Queen Mary's reign, three years after another Leicestershire victim, Lady Jane Grey,[1] had paid the penalty of her relatives' ambition.

The break up of the religious estates brought into greater prominence many who became possessed of them either by direct grant or favouritism, or by purchase from those possessors of ill-gotten lands.

The three chief nobles took care to increase their landed

[1] See "Greys of Bradgate," *post*.

possessions; they were the representatives of the Lancastrian Roos (now Manners), created by Henry VIII., Earls of Rutland, the Yorkist Hastings (now Earls of Huntingdon), and Henry, second Marquis of Dorset, who at this time got possession of Bradgate. The Beaumonts acquired Grace-Dieu, and William Cavendish obtained Leicester Abbey amongst other rewards. He was one of the husbands of the celebrated "Bess of Hardwick," and ancestor of the Dukes of Devonshire and Portland, but the Abbey had soon passed from his estates into the hands of another branch of the Cavendishes, who made of it a residence.

The Hastings of Ashby-de-la-Zouch vied with the Lord of Bradgate in chief importance. Free from royal ambitions, they were able to live in all the state that a subject could keep up; and after the Greys fell from their high position, the Earls of Huntingdon and Rutland, at their opposing ends of the shire, used their influence in the cause of law and order in the Midlands through the reign of Elizabeth.

It is not recorded that that monarch paid one of her costly visits to the county, though four times did the town have the expense of futile preparations for her reception. Mary Queen of the Scots was twice within its borders—at Ashby under the care of the Earl of Huntingdon, and at Leicester on both the journeys. The reign of Elizabeth saw the increase of public soldiers that had begun to replace the retainers of older times; the town of Leicester had its armoury; its soldiers were increased from ten to twenty, and were trained with the county forces at Melton as well as at home. In 1588 the Armada made a great stir; some 12,000 males in the county responded to the summons of the High Sheriff, Thomas Skeffington of Belgrave, to bear arms; 2000 were sent to Tilbury, and the remainder were partially armed and allowed to return home pending the landing of the Spaniards. Sir George Villiers[1] of Brooksby

[1] The Villiers had been settled at Brooksby since the reign of Henry III. This Sir George was the father of the celebrated favourite, the Duke of Buckingham, by his second wife, daughter of Anthony Beaumont of Glenfield,

commanded the forty town soldiers that were the Tilbury contingent.

The opening of the Civil War found the county held almost wholly for the Parliament, with the exception of the two castles of Belvoir and Ashby. Amongst the individual Royalists who helped the King were William Earl of Devon of the Abbey Mansion, Sir R. Halford of Wistow, Sir George Villiers of Brooksby, Henry Berkeley, Henry Skipwith, Woolstan Dixie, John Rolleston of Staunton, John Skeffington, Richard Roberts, Sir John Bale, William Foster of Knighton, William Jones, and George Ashby.

For the Parliament were the Earl of Stamford, his son Lord Grey, Lord Ruthin, Sir Arthur Hesilrige, Sir Edward Hartopp, Archdale Palmer, Thomas Brudenell, Thomas Beaumont, Thomas Babington, William Danvers, John St. John.

In 1642 when the first Commissions of Array were issued to put the counties in a state of defence on behalf of the King, Leicester was the first county to receive the proclamation which was the final provocation to the people against him; presumably there were waverers, as it was thought worth while for Charles himself to visit the town and address the people.

It was in July 1642 he came from Nottingham with Prince Charles and Prince Rupert, and was met by the Mayor and Corporation and escorted to Lord Huntingdon's mansion. Next day Charles addressed the assembly at the Assizes and received petitions from both town and county couched in respectful language, but plainly showing their disagreement with him. The following day, Sunday, he attended in great ceremony a service in St. Martin's, the

in Leicestershire. The Duke was born at Brooksby and sent to school "to one Mr. Anthony Code, at Billesdon, where he also learned the grounds of musick"; at thirteen he went to live with his widowed mother at Goadby Marwood, north of Melton; later on he went to France and was not much connected with the county again, except by his marriage with Lady Katherine Manners, only daughter and heiress of the Earl of Rutland, though he used his influence to obtain for Leicester the privileges of a staple town from Charles I.

official church of the town, which was specially got ready for the occasion; and next day he departed, to return once more for a night the following month on his way to Warwickshire. There he found the gates of Coventry closed against him, and returned to Leicester, not to the town, but to the hospitality of the loyal Countess of Devon at the Abbey.[1]

The next day Charles with Prince Rupert rode on to Nottingham, and that afternoon raised his standard during a storm of wind and rain that proved an ill omen for his success in the war.

Before a month was out Prince Rupert had headed an assault on Bradgate and established the headquarters of his Royalist cavalry at Queniborough for a short time.

Bradgate was again plundered in the following year (1643) to such an extent that Lord Stamford humbly entreated the House of Lords that "some malignant's house" that was ready furnished might be allotted unto him for his family.[2]

Skirmishes and raids took place in different parts of the county throughout the next two years, mainly led on the one side by Hastings and the other by Lord Grey. It was probably the desire to relieve the pressure on Oxford that decided Charles to occupy Leicester, which was a centre of disaffection. The Royal army came from Staffordshire to Ashby on the 27th May 1645;[3] on the 28th it rested at Loughborough, and Charles slept at Cotes, the residence of Sir Henry Skipwith; the following day it reached Leicester, and Prince Rupert utilised the ready-made earthworks of Rawdykes as positions for his batteries.

King Charles took up his quarters at Aylestone[4] till

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[1] The exact dates of Charles's movements were: Nottingham to Leicester, August 18th; to Coventry, 19th; that night and probably the next at Stoneleigh. Returned to Leicester Abbey, 21st; and the following day, Monday, 22nd, to Nottingham.

[2] J. Thompson, *History of Leicester*.

[3] See "Henry Hastings," *post*.

[4] Mrs. Fielding Johnson, *Glimpses of Ancient Leicester*.

after two days' siege the town was taken, and he rode through it on his way to the Abbey mansion, which after his departure was unaccountably set on fire by the Royalist soldiers. The town was extensively sacked and robbed by the victorious troops apparently, as appears from a petition to the House of Commons by some Londoners, who said the storming of Leicester had made a deep impression on them and "the barbarous cruelties practised there."[1] That terrible licence and cruelty went on is without doubt true. Cromwell's troops were not wholly exempt from such charges elsewhere, and here there seems to have been provocation to the Royal army in the part taken by women.

At least a letter written by an officer in the King's army sets forth :—

> "That the very women, to the honour of the Leicester ladies, if they like it, officiously did their parts, and after the town was taken, and when if they had been possessed of any discretion with their zeal, they would have kept their houses and been quiet, they fired upon our men out of their windows and from the tops of their houses and threw tiles upon their heads."[2]

In ignorance of Fairfax's movements, who set out for Leicester from Oxford, Charles's plans were undecided. The Royal army marched to Kibworth[3] the week following after the taking of Leicester, then to Northamptonshire, within the boundary of which county was fought the disastrous battle of Naseby. Charles fled to Leicester, but, hotly pursued, he had to go straight through, and reached Ashby in safety. Cromwell had himself nearly reached the town in the pursuit and, followed next day by Fairfax, who had come on to Great Glen after the battle, prepared to retake Leicester. Fortunately it was spared another

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[1] J. Thompson, *History of Leicester*. The details of the siege of Leicester have been well dealt with by the local historians.

[2] J. F. Hollings, *Leicester during the Civil War*.

[3] When Charles left the Abbey on the 4th June he spent the night at Wistow at Sir Richard Halford's, where soon after on his flight from Naseby he got a fresh horse, leaving his own ornate saddle and stirrups behind to become treasured heirlooms.

siege, owing to the weakness of its defences, and the terms of surrender that were offered by Fairfax—honourable as befitted the man whom Charles described as "a man of honour and keeps his word."

Fairfax tarried but a few days in Leicester, nor did he stay to take Ashby Castle; that and Belvoir both surrendered to the Parliament early in the following year.

The great personages of the strife were still to traverse the county—King Charles on his way as a prisoner to Holdenby, Fairfax and his wife to be entertained by the corporation at a banquet, and Cromwell on his way to Scotland.

At the beginning of the Commonwealth, when the Independents were intolerantly asserting their form of religious persuasion, it was again the lot of the county to take part in a new religious excitement when Quakerism was preached by George Fox, son of a Leicestershire weaver of Drayton by the Rutland border, where he began proselytising, before he roused Lutterworth and the neighbourhood in Leicestershire. Later on a conference of Baptists and others at Broughton Astley gave him his first opportunity of addressing a large assembly, which brought him into notoriety. Again in Leicester, probably at St. Martin's, was the first occasion he was moved to speak in a "steeple house," as he called a church, where, at a great disputation, in which Presbyterians, Independents, Baptists and Churchmen all took part, Fox set the congregation "on fire," and the debate came to a stormy conclusion, so that he retired to an inn to continue his arguments with those that were willing. On a later occasion, when he was preaching in the town, he was taken up by the officer commanding and eventually sent up in custody to Cromwell, who, more liberally minded than his officers, let him go.

The mayor and aldermen of the town sent a most humble address up to "his Highness" Richard Cromwell on his father's death, but notwithstanding that he failed

altogether to prove what they expected, "Another Joshua with his spirit redoubled," they still clung to the Cromwellian party, and would not join the county in a demand for a free Parliament. In 1660 they were fain to entertain General Monk at a banquet as he passed through the county on his way to London with part of his army, when he was met near Leicester by the two commissioners from Parliament, the bells were rung and many people of the neighbourhood assembled to greet him. The following day the High Sheriff, George Faunt, and others followed him to St. Albans to present an address in support of their views, but the mayor wrote to Sir Arthur Heselrige to acquaint him with their standing aloof from the sheriff's overtures.[1]

Heselrige, the Leicestershire Parliamentarian, had represented the town in three of the ineffective Commonwealth Parliaments, but in the election that closely followed, in April 1660, the revulsion of feeling in favour of the Restoration caused the name of Hesilrige to come out the lowest in the poll. It was owing to Monk's interposition that his life was spared when retribution was dealt out after the Restoration.

The Proclamation of Charles II. was everywhere received with loud rejoicings, so great was the majority in his favour.

From this time Leicester ceases to figure in the general history of the county. The Civil War was the end of all fortified dwellings; Leicester Castle had long been only a semblance of itself; Ashby and Belvoir Castles were partially destroyed; Kirby Muxloe abandoned; of Castle Donington, Burton wrote that it had been "quite ruinated" by the Earl of Huntingdon, when he bought it at the end of the previous century, and "built a fair house in the park." In some counties great building activity succeeded the Restoration; in many cases to repair damages, in others

[1] J. Thompson, *History of Leicester*.

men who had been abroad with Charles II. came back imbued with French taste, and set to work to express it in their houses. In Leicester itself it was round about the year 1700 that much of the old town was rebuilt, when brick clay was discovered close to the town. The building periods that seem to have been most marked in the county were the reign of Charles I. and the grievous era in architectural taste of 1800, when Belvoir Castle, Castle Donington, and Coleorton were built.

Jacobite feeling in Leicester ran high, and from the abdication of James II. till the final act in 1745, the intrigues were incessant in favour of the Pretender.

Much alarm and commotion was caused by the near approach of Charles Edward and his army from the north, and some of his adherents were heartily glad when they found he had been turned back from Derby and were spared putting their loyalty to an actual test.

From the Civil War downwards there has always been a party in the county focused at Leicester, with a strong bias against the powers that be. Jacobitism having come to an end in 1782, the "Revolution Club" was founded in memory of the reign of William of Orange, to unite "the independent interest of the town and county of Leicester . . . supporting and defending them against any oppression or invasion they might suffer from the undue exertions of misplaced power or the venal influence of enemies to freedom."

The consternation at the deeds of the French Revolution, ten years later, raised a storm all over the county in denunciation of all reformers; in the horror excited by the excesses committed, such a course was a natural reaction. The "Revolution Club" died a natural death, and even the strongest Liberals made themselves into a "Constitutional Society." All parties of town and county sunk their differences in the mayor's feast in 1792, and drank to the toast of "May the British Constitution be never infected with the French disease."

The arming of soldiers, owing to the alarm of invasion, was common to other counties in the Napoleonic times, and henceforth the distinctive history of the shire is entirely industrial.

The variety of interests in the county is great. From the old castle of Ashby in the north-west stretches the beautiful district of Charnwood Forest to the flat river plain where Leicester stands — a modern manufacturing town on Roman and mediæval foundations. It may well be taken as a typical illustration of the different stages in the history of an English town from the earliest times to the present day. South-east from Ashby, beyond the murky coal villages, lie the pastures of Bosworth and the manufacturing district of Hinckley and Earl Shilton, where tall smoking chimneys betoken the exchange of agriculture for manufactures. Farther south is the peaceful little town of Lutterworth in rural surroundings, and from there, striking north-east through Market Harborough up to Melton Mowbray and the Vale of Belvoir, to Lincolnshire, some of the finest land of England is comprised, purely agricultural, well farmed, with picturesque villages and fine churches and houses; it is the land of the Pytchley, Cottesmore, Quorn, and Belvoir Hounds—the land, above all others, of fox-hunting, which in Leicestershire may almost be termed an historic industry.

This sketch has sought to outline a few of the events that agitated the shire, to mention some of the principal men concerned in its history, and, if it may be, lead some of the inhabitants of the present day to study more of the past of their inheritance—"For what is man's lifetime unless the memory of past events is woven with those of earlier times?"

THE PREHISTORIC ROADS OF LEICESTERSHIRE

By Harold Peake

IT may appear somewhat strange to write of prehistoric roads, and many will be disposed to think that such means of communication were not in existence in these islands until constructed by the Roman legions. But a moment's thought will enable us to see that if the land was inhabited the people must have moved from one place to another, and that the routes usually followed would in time become well-beaten tracks. As trade progressed some of these would have become more important than others, and when wheeled traffic became the fashion an attempt at engineering must have been made both along steep hill-sides and across treacherous morasses. That chariots were in common use in his time we have the authority of Cæsar, who speaks also of "well-known roads and paths"; so that even historical evidence is not lacking that some prehistoric roads existed in Britain.

It is comparatively easy to trace the course of some of these in the south of England. After crossing the Thames the problem becomes more difficult, and when we get to Leicestershire the evidence is so scanty that we must be content to indicate their trend, for in many places all traces have disappeared. The whole county has been so thoroughly cultivated for centuries past that the plough has destroyed nearly all signs of such tracks as have not become macadamised roads, and were it not for experience gained in other parts of the country it would be

impossible to attempt to reconstruct the prehistoric road-map of this region.

In the south of England many old roads have been described as "British track-ways," and more might be cited which as well deserve that name. These are by no means alike in form, and we may distinguish three types which appear to be older than the time of the Romans.

The most marked, which I would call the "ridge-way" type, is distinguished by following the ridges of hills, winding considerably to avoid brooks or marshy ground, and crossing rivers but seldom, and then only where the hard ground comes close to the water on either side. Along these roads are many tumuli, placed at conspicuous places, especially where the road forks or two roads cross. Earthworks of the "hill-top" variety and rectangular camps are found beside them and innumerable traces of prehistoric villages. Where they cross the virgin down cattle tracks are plentiful, which are most clearly visible when the road ascends a hill. The Ridge-way in Wilts and Berks is perhaps the best-known example, and was called by this name in the tenth century. It has been described by Sir Richard Colt Hoare in his *Ancient Wilts*.

Another clearly-marked type, which I will call "hill-side," winds along the sides of hills just above the alluvium. Marshes and low-lying ground are avoided, but small streams do not offer so great an obstacle as in the case of the ridge-roads. Mr. Hilaire Belloc in *The Old Road* has described such a way leading from Winchester to Canterbury, and the Icknield Way, which runs through Wantage parallel to the Ridge-way, is another example.

Intermediate between these is a third, an example of which is the Harrow-way, which runs across the north of Hampshire. This keeps on high ground, though not on the ridge, but does not hesitate to cross small brooks if a saving of distance is gained thereby.

The great number of prehistoric remains found by the side of roads of all these three types leaves little room for

MAP OF PREHISTORIC AND ROMAN ROADS IN THE CENTRE OF BRITAIN.

doubt that they were in use before the Roman period, and the fact that roads of two, or even all three, types may be found running parallel, sometimes scarcely a mile apart, leads one to suppose that they originated at different times. The ridge roads are presumably the oldest, for they are the most circuitous and pass by the earliest settlements. The tumuli by their sides belong, for the most part, to the early part of the Bronze Age, though neolithic remains are found also beside them. The "Harrow-way" type is probably the next, and these, too, keep for the most part to the high ground, showing that when first used the lowlands had not been cleared and inhabited. The hill-side roads belong to the latest stage, when people began to settle in the valleys, and give up a pastoral life for agricultural pursuits.

As to the age of these roads it is difficult to speak with certainty. The presence of many remains of the early part of the Bronze Age beside the ridge roads shows them to have been in use at that time, though they may have been used for local purposes in neolithic days. The remains found along the Harrow-way type have not been carefully examined; but these roads came into use, we may imagine, some time during the later bronze period, while the number of "Late Celtic" remains found along the hill-side roads shows that they belong to the times immediately preceding the Roman era.

But all the roads once made remained in use through succeeding periods; many, if not most, are in use to-day. So it happens that Roman remains are found frequently beside them all, which has caused antiquaries of the old school to describe many of them as Roman roads. But these roads were not made in the ordinary sense of the term. Some engineering is visible in places along the hill-side roads, but use alone made the roads, as is the case with the trails of savages or our own footpaths.

Though these roads were, no doubt, traversed for many purposes, itinerant traders must have used them most frequently, and those which are most conspicuous must have

been essentially trade routes. As they appear to date from the beginning of the Bronze Age, we may feel sure that implements of that metal formed part of the merchandise carried along them, and it will be worth while to consider the circumstances of this trade before dealing specifically with those portions of the routes which traverse Leicestershire.

The earliest bronze implements reached this country from France about B.C. 1800, though this date must be accepted with caution. The Gaulish traders seem then, as later, to have carried their traffic by boat along their rivers, and the earliest merchants probably approached this island from the mouth of the Seine. Mr. Belloc has well described how they would have approached St. Catherine's Head in the Isle of Wight, and when nearing the shore they must have turned either to the east and landed near Chichester, or to the west, when their best harbour would have been near Christchurch—probably by St. Catherine's Hill, where remains of early earthworks still exist. If they skirted the coast of Normandy as far as Cape La Hague they would have made for Portland Bill, and then landed either at Lulworth Cove or the head of the Chesil beach below Abbotsbury, or perhaps even as far west as Charmouth or Seaton.

From these ports they traded with the inhabitants of the southern downs, who were their chief customers, and some time elapsed before they advanced north of a line represented by the Thames and the Bristol Avon. Both of these rivers are bordered by alluvial lands, difficult to cross, and the region around their sources must have been marshy and covered with scrub, so that a road by the watershed would have been impracticable. When at length the traders sought markets to the north, they preferred to cross the rivers where the hard ground descended on either side to the water's edge, and selected fords respectively at Streatley and Bath.

To the former ran the Ridge-way already mentioned

and other tracks from some of the southern ports, and the trade route thus opened out led to East Anglia and the high ground east of the fens. Roads from Seaton, Abbotsbury, and Christchurch converged to Bath, making a great detour to avoid the Glastonbury swamp, and proceeded along the Cotswolds in the direction of Stow-on-the-Wold. Near here the road divides, one branch continuing to the north-west Midlands, while the other, with which we are more immediately concerned, turned eastward and followed the boundary between the counties of Warwick and Oxford to Edgehill, after which its course becomes less distinct.

The road is now entering a thickly-wooded region, for in early days Leicestershire and much of the land adjoining it was one vast forest. From the fens on the east the woodlands of Rutland and the Forest of Rockingham must have stretched across the county till they reached Needwood Forest on the west, while Sherwood to the north-east must have run continuously to Arden on the south-west. The north-western quarter of the county was not disafforested till 1812, and still goes by the name of Charnwood Forest, which, during the Middle Ages, reached to the very walls of the town of Leicester. While the neolithic men of the south tended their flocks and herds on the downs, their contemporaries in Leicestershire must have been still in the hunting stage, and few of their implements have survived but axes, which date probably from the period when bronze was becoming well known in the southern counties.

Such a population would not readily invite the trader in bronze implements, for they could have had little to exchange for his wares, and what we may term the middle Bronze Age must have been well advanced before he brought his merchandise to them. With but one exception, the bronze articles found in the county cannot be considered older than this period, and the vast majority seem to be later.

The route of these traders north of Edgehill can only be traced in outline and with considerable uncertainty. That it followed the watershed of the Avon seems probable, and then passed north-west to Husband's Bosworth, where it entered the county at the watershed of the Avon and the Welland. Here a hoard of implements belonging to the late Bronze Age was discovered more than a century ago, but nothing has so far been found dating from the earlier part of the period.

The course of the road through Leicestershire seems to have been by Bosworth Lodge, Mowsley, and Saddington to Kibworth Harcourt, where a tumulus of the Roman period marks its course, then on by Carlton Grange and the Gartree bush, between Illston and Noseley, where a flint celt and some Bronze Age pottery have been found, between Frisby and Rolleston, to the north of Skeffington, where a bronze spear-head was found, and so to Tilton.

Here a tumulus, near the windmill, seems to show where several ways converged. Various earthworks in the immediate neighbourhood indicate that the place was formerly of more importance than at present, while the Roman coins that have been found there prove that it was still occupied at that period.

A road to the east here leads past Tilton station, where there is a rectangular camp, to the south of Withcote near Sanvey Castle, past a tumulus and on north of Swintley House, through Manton and Edith Weston in the direction of Stamford. The main line passes Owston Grange, where remains of cinerary urns were found long ago, through Somerby and Pickwell past Jericho Lodge till it crosses the Eye at Stapleford. Thence it passed between Freeby and Saxby, where some Roman remains have been found near Stonesby Lodge, through Saltby, where several tumuli mark its course, and past Hungerton Hall till it crossed the Witham a little north of Ponton. Its course hence was northward, and parallel to the Ermine Street to Lincoln. There seems also to be a third branch, less clearly

indicated, through Waltham-on-the-Wolds, Eastwell, and Belvoir, where some "Late Celtic" pottery was discovered; it goes by Bottesford and Long Bennington towards some point near Newark.

Since the trade with the inhabitants of Leicestershire must have been so scanty, it is worth while considering what brought merchants into these parts at this time. As the routes seem to point to ports on rivers running to the east coast, an over-sea traffic seems implied.

That there was a constant communication with Denmark or Holland about this time seems likely, for the race of broad-headed men—formerly called Bronze Age men—who are now believed to have first landed at the close of the neolithic period, are thought to have come from those parts, for there alone in Europe has a similar race been found. Their line of approach would most likely have been by various ports on the coast of East Anglia, which would have brought them to Salisbury Plain by the Streatley route; but some probably entered the Wash, sailed up the rivers that run into it, and so passed to the south by the route we have been tracing.

The chief reason for ports so far north was that the inhabitants of Denmark and the surrounding regions were in want of gold, and in due course their prospectors found that the Eldorado of the time was Ireland. How they first reached there is uncertain; but we know that Irish gold reached Denmark, and it has been suggested that all the precious metal found at this time in Scandinavia came from the western isle. Traders from Denmark to Ireland would wish to avoid a long and dangerous sea journey around these isles, yet would be anxious to make the land crossing as short as possible. The ports around the Wash would for this purpose be the most suitable landing-places, and we are fortunately able to trace their land route across the county.

Coming from Lincoln and Stamford, or ports near those places, by the roads we have already traced as far as

Tilton, they wished to avoid crossing the Soar where the river was not fordable. The lowest point which would serve their purpose seems to have been just below Leicester, where the Abbey stood in later days, and where the river was divided into two or more channels, and this was the point they aimed at.

Leaving Tilton, the track seems to make for Billesdon Coplow, passing just to the north of the old camp on the hill above, and then across Palace Hill to the Leicester and Uppingham road. It kept rather to the south of the highway till it reached Houghton-on-the-Hill, then followed the general direction of the footpath from that village to Bushby. The road through Bushby and Thurnby seems to be on the old line, which crossed the stream where the footbridge now is and continued on up the hill towards Evington Hall. From this point, I am inclined to think, alternative tracks led to two fords on the river. One passed over the Spinney Hills and through the park, where arrow-heads have been found, and so through the Midland station to Granby Street, and then by Church Gate to St. Margaret's pasture; while the other ran into the Green Lane, and making straight for the lower end of Wharf Street, where a hammer-head has been dug up, passed by Sydney Street and across the upper part of the Abbey meadow, where a stone celt and a bronze dagger were discovered a few years ago. It crossed the river near the Abbey, where an upright stone, known formerly as St. John's Stone, seems to have marked the passage.

Both trails evidently converged on to the Anstey Lane and followed this to the village where the river was crossed by a ford just where the old mediæval pack-horse bridge now stands. Passing through the village of Anstey one may still see traces of the old road to the south of the highway as one ascends the hill on the way to Newtown Linford. But the old way soon diverged from the modern road, passed by Anstey High Leys and through Chaplin's Rough, to the north of Old Wood and Lawn Wood, joining

the Markfield and Newtown Lane by Heyday Hays. It followed along the line of this lane to the turnpike road, and by the latter to the cross-roads beyond the village. Here stood formerly an old upright stone, known as the Altar Stone, which seems to have been another mark on the way. Here our road leaves the highway and turns for a short distance along the lane to Copt Oak, but it soon leaves this and bearing to the left passes along the lane by White Hill and makes straight for Bardon Hill.

Before reaching the Hill it bears round still farther to the left past the Rice Rocks and joins the Ashby turnpike near the lodge of Bardon Hall; then continues along the road through Coalville, past Snibston and Sinope, to Ashby-de-la-Zouch. Whether it entered the town or kept to the north of it seems uncertain, but soon it joined the Burton road and followed the line of the present highway till it reached the Trent.

That it crossed the river at or near Burton seems probable, and its further course is somewhat uncertain, but it appears to have gone on towards Chester.

From Stamford this is a fairly direct route towards the western ports on the Dee and Mersey, from which Ireland could best be reached; but from Lincoln a very considerable detour has been made to avoid crossing the Trent and the Soar. Various attempts seem to have been made to cut a corner, one of which left our former route at Billesdon Coplow, and ran past Ingarsby station to Keyham, and thence along the footpath to Barkby Thorpe, and so on to the junction of the Fosse Way and the Melton road, where a tumulus formerly stood. From thence it seems to have gone to the Wreak at Syston Mill, near which a bronze dagger was found in the clay, and on through Cossington to cross the Soar at Sileby Mill. It passed by Mountsorrel, where various early remains have been found, and so on to Woodhouse Church.

But soon a better way was found, both shorter and traversing firmer ground. This branched off from the other

road near Saltby, and crossed Croxton Park on its way to the White Lodge north of Goadby Marwood. North of Scalford it met the road coming from Bottesford and Belvoir, which we have described before, and then continued along the present road to Six Hills, where it crossed the Fosse Way, and so to Barrow-on-Soar. Here stood, in all probability, the tumulus which gave its name to the village, to mark the crossing of the river. Whether this was by a ford or a ferry in a dug-out canoe is uncertain, but that it was where the present bridge now stands seems likely. The track passed to the north of Quorn Hall, nearly on the line of the present road, then ran direct to Quorn station and thence almost straight to Woodhouse Church, where it met the road from Mountsorrel.

The present road to the south of Beaumanor Park seems on the line of our track, which passed to the south of Beacon Hill, where a hoard of bronze implements has been found, and so past Bawdon Castle, known formerly as Cateirn Hill, to the north of Birch Hill and Bardon quarries, where a spear-head and palstave have been found, and so to join the great road to the west.

Various cross-roads, connecting those just described or cutting off corners, seem to have crossed the Wreak at Melton Mowbray, Kirby Bellars, and near Brooksby, but their course and object is uncertain. It is also possible that a road continued from Bardon Hill through Hugglescote and Donnington Heath in the direction of Cole Orton. Again there are faint indications of another route from Husband's Bosworth through Gilmorton, Broughton Astley, Stoney Stanton, Elmsthorpe, Sutton Cheney, Market Bosworth and Shakerstone, to join the road to the west. But more investigations must be made before the exact routes can be made out.

As we approach the late Bronze Age, the period noted for socketed celts, we find a change in the general direction of trade. The distribution of socketed implements shows us that the centre of the industry was in the basin of the

PREHISTORIC AND ROMAN ROADS IN LEICESTERSHIRE.

RIDGEWAY ROADS

HILL-SIDE ROADS

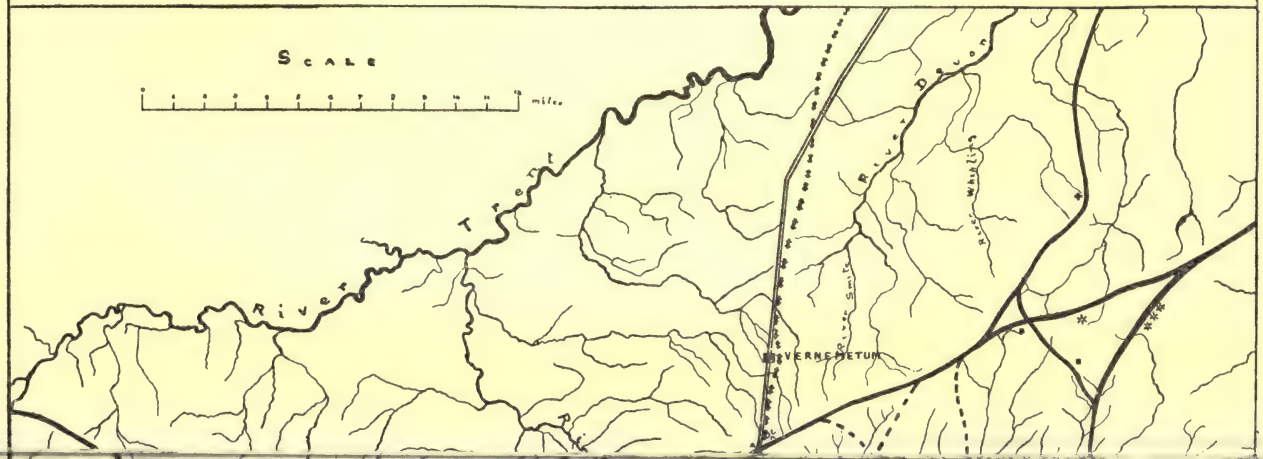
ROMAN ROADS

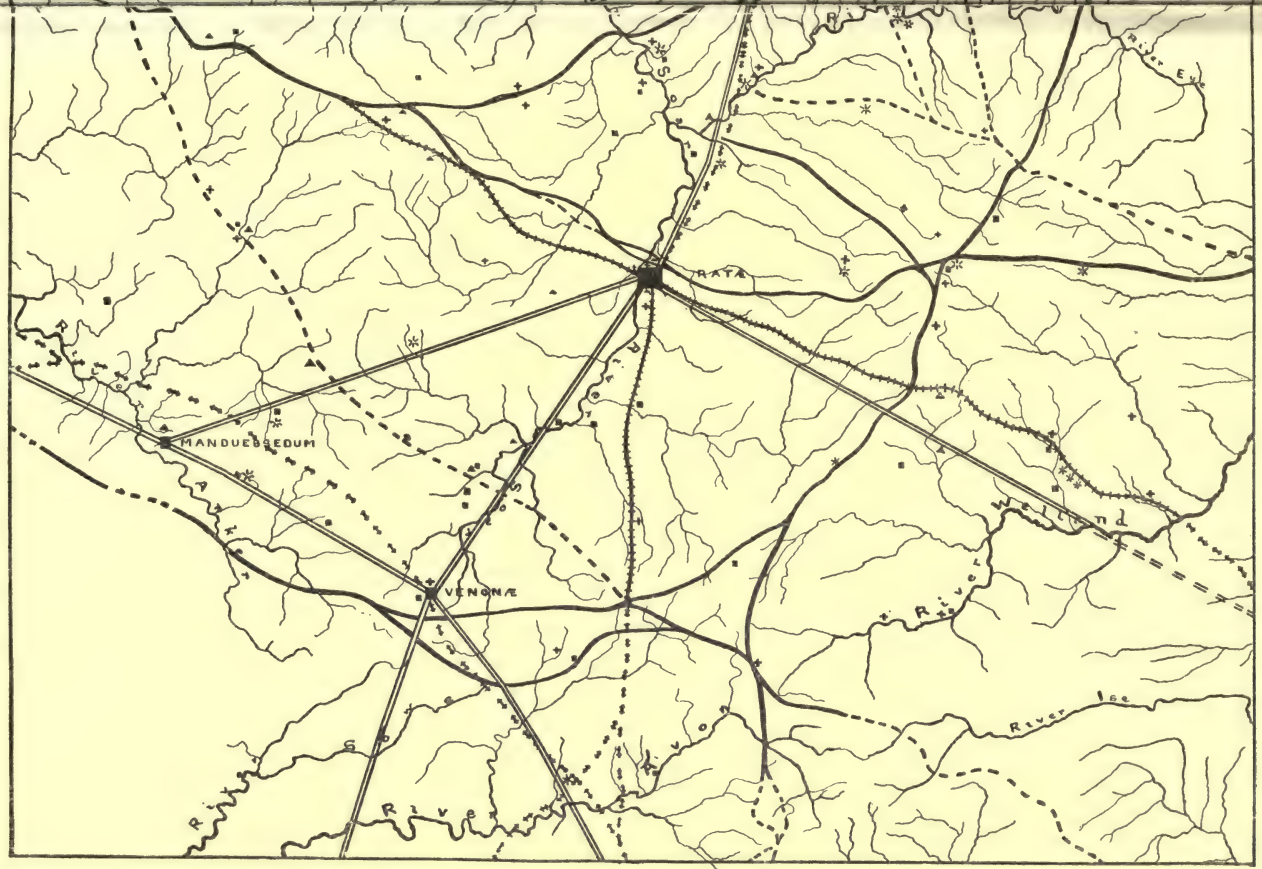
BARROWS *

NEOLITHIC AND EARLY BRONZE AGE REMAINS ▲

LATE BRONZE AGE AND "LATE CELTIC" REMAINS +

ROMANO-BRITISH REMAINS ■





Prehistoric and Roman Roads in Leicestershire.

Rhine, and the traders travelled in all probability down that river on their way to these islands. It seems likely that then, as later, they did not cross the sea direct, but skirted the shore of Belgium until they arrived near Calais, when they crossed to the Kentish ports. This seems to have been the chief trade route between Britain and the Continent during the latter part of the Bronze Age, though there are reasons for believing that an independent traffic was carried on between the south-western counties by the Channel Isles to Brittany, and so through western France to the cities of north-east Spain.

Irish gold found its way also across the Channel to north-east France, and the route through this island must have passed near Leicestershire, though we can only trace it in outline. Leaving the Kentish ports, the road must have crossed the Thames, probably at Brentford, and passed north into Hertfordshire, and thence north-west to Husband's Bosworth. Here it left the other road and turned to the west. There seem for a while to be alternative routes, one going through Kimcote, Lutterworth, and Willey to Wolvey Heath in Warwickshire, while the other led through Gilmorton, Ullesthorpe, and Wibtoft to the same place. Thence the road seems to have continued towards Chester.

But as bronze axes became more generally used, the people were enabled to clear the low lands of the scrub which had made it impassable. The process took place gradually, we may feel sure; but before the close of the Bronze Age many agricultural villages must have arisen in the valleys of the south-eastern counties. About B.C. 450 there arrived another people, who brought the knowledge of iron to our shores. That they were the first to use wheeled vehicles seems likely, inasmuch as, while horse trappings and harness have never yet been discovered associated with undoubted Bronze Age remains, they are not infrequently found among discoveries of the "Late Celtic" period. The translation of the villages from the

hill-tops to the valleys, accompanied by the introduction of wheeled traffic, necessitated a new style of road, and it is to this epoch that I would relegate the "hill-side" roads.

The Irish gold trade still continued to flourish, and much of the precious metal seems to have found its way to the Swiss lake villages. The route followed was on the same broad lines as that just traced, but somewhat shortened by cutting off corners. In a few places only has it been traced accurately, but we can fill in the links with a fair approach to accuracy.

The Thames seems to have been crossed near London, and the road went by Hampstead to St. Albans, which was now becoming an important centre. Thence it ran north-west, as shown on the map, till it entered the county near Shawell. From here for a while its course is uncertain, but it probably passed through Warwickshire on its way to Highcross, then continued through Burbage and Hinckley, Wykin, Atterton, and Ratcliffe Culey, Grendon, Polesworth, and Glascote to Tamworth. Thence its course may be traced past Coton and Packington to Wall, after which we need describe it no further.

The road from Bath seems also to have been straightened and modernised, but we will be content to trace its course from near Stow-on-the-Wold. From Upper Swell it comes, as shown on the map, to Shawell, where the tumulus probably marks the crossing of this and the other road. Hence we may trace its course through Melbourne and Walcote and by the west of Kimcote to Gilmorton, where it divides. One branch, probably the earlier, goes by Peatling Magna and Foston to East Wigston, and thence is easily traced by the west of Great Stretton to Houghton-on-the-Hill. Its further course seems to be by Ingarsby, Hungerton, and Twyford to the camp at Burrow. From this point it would seem the old roads already traced continued to be used, for there are no clear evidences of the later type.

The other branch from Gilmorton passed between

Ashby Magna and Peatling Parva to Willoughby Waterless, where a "Late Celtic" urn has been found, then to the east of Blaby, through Aylestone Park into Leicester. Its course northwards seems to have coincided very nearly with the Fosse road, which was its Roman successor, and there are no traces of the earlier way through Leicestershire, though it may be noticed passing through East Bridgeford and Kneeton in the Trent valley.

Various small connecting links may be noticed, but the only one of any importance is that running from Crick through Yelvertoft, Claycoton, and Stanford-on-Avon to Melbourne Lodge, thus forming a connection between Leicester and London.

One more road was used in the Iron Age which had no predecessor in the Bronze Age. Whether it was that the Thames presented difficulties to the traders, now travelling with waggons, or whether the merchants desired to shorten their land route at the expense of a lengthened sea voyage, one cannot decide. But for some such reason the trading vessels from north-eastern France sometimes put in at ports in Essex, and made their way direct from there to the north-west, keeping, however, south of the fens to Great Easton.

Fragments of harness of the "Late Celtic" style found here show that the road passed this way towards Hallaton, where an uninscribed gold coin and some Roman pottery have been found. Various earthworks near here show this to have been an important place both before and after the Romans came. The road continued to the south of Goadby, where many remains have been found, which are supposed to be Roman, but may be earlier; then on through Noseley, where celts and pottery have been found, past Illston-on-the-Hill and to the south of King's Norton, then through Stoughton and Evington to Leicester.

Its course through the town cannot be traced, but it probably left by a ford just below the west bridge, where it divided. One branch kept straight on through New

Found Pool and Glenfield till it met the Ashby turnpike opposite Bradgate House. It followed the high-road as far as Coalville, when it continued west along the Bronze Age track already traced. The other followed roughly the present Hinckley road nearly as far as Cross Lanes, then went past Forest House, Alder Hall, Broomhills, and Kirby Mallory Hall and north of Upton Park to Atterton, where it joined the other route to Chester.

Such were the principal roads that the Romans found in existence when they arrived, and before they had been long in the county they had straightened the road from London towards Chester, which is now known as the Watling Street, and forms the south-west boundary of the county. The greater part, if not all, of the road from Bath to Lincoln was also straightened, and is now so well known as the Fosse that its course requires no further description. The last road from Colchester to Chester was straightened as far as Leicester, and its course is quite clear till it comes to Rockingham Forest. This portion seems to have been traceable a century ago, but now most of the evidence has disappeared. Through this county, however, the old Gartree road shows the course of the Roman road as far as Stoughton Park, whence it continued straight to the town and down the New Walk into the Roman city. A continuation through Ashby has always been postulated, but no clear evidence of its existence has been obtained. It seems more likely that the old road sufficed for those who wanted a direct route, but that most travellers followed the now straightened road through Kirby Mallory, which joined the Watling Street at Mancetter. This course to Chester would, perhaps, be a few miles longer, but the country through which it would pass would be more level and less wild than that along the older but more direct route.

Such in brief outline is the prehistoric road-map of Leicestershire, somewhat shadowy as yet in places, but a skeleton which may be improved and corrected by

other archæologists. It has been impossible within the limits of these pages to give all the evidence in full, or the exact course of every part of the way; enough has been said, however, to show the general trend of the trade routes in these early days, and perhaps this attempt, faulty and incomplete as such pioneer work needs must be, may stimulate others to undertake more thorough investigation.

PREHISTORIC LEICESTERSHIRE

By A. R. Horwood

PART I

IN seeking for the traces of early man in any particular district, we are obliged to turn to the evidence of comparative archæology and philology as well as history, and to the relics of that period which has been aptly termed "the meeting-place of geology and history." Turning to the great geological period of the Ice Age, in England we see that during this epoch of change huge blocks of granite, Carboniferous limestone, and Millstone grit, or of Coal-measure sandstone, Permian, Jurassic, and Cretaceous rocks and fossils were torn up, dragged along, rendered smooth and polished or striated, and carried forward southwards for long distances. These were finally laid down in a fresh district, distributed evenly over the country, north of a line drawn from near Bristol across England to the Wash. South of this deposits of boulder clay diminish; but in East Anglia assume great variety, testifying to alternations of periods of submergence and elevation.

The surface of Leicestershire is covered with a thick mantle of boulder clay then formed, and boulders are scattered all over the county, some of great size and weight. Fine examples are exhibited in the grounds of Leicester Museum.

If we glance for a moment at the physical structure or conformation of Leicestershire in its latest or recent state, before civilisation had advanced towards the erection of early earthworks or camps of refuge, before buildings of

any description had been constructed, and long before permanent roads were carried across the country, we find little or nothing to indicate the manner of dwelling or the nature of the communities formed by the earliest peoples.

Taking a bird's-eye view of the district covered by the present county, we find it consists of more or less lowland country traversed centrally by the river Soar (the ancient Leir), a tributary of the Trent. West of this line is the Trent, bounding the county on the N.W., the river Anker dividing it from Warwickshire on the S.W., with its tributary, the Sence, flowing from the N.E. To the E. is the river Wreake, and the Eye flowing into the Soar to the N.E., with small tributaries also flowing westwards, whilst in the S.E. the Welland and the Avon bound the county during part of their course, and the latter sends forth tributaries to the N.W.

On either side of the central valley of the river Soar extend wide plains to the E. of Lias clay, and to the W. of Red marl and Coal-measures. The western area is only diversified by higher ground to the N.W. and the miniature mountain range of Charnwood Forest, the summit of whose highest point, Bardon Hill (912 feet), affords a fine prospect in every direction.

This hilly country (once hidden in a sea of moor and forest varied with mountain crags, from which many of the boulders spread around the country southwards were derived by ice agency) we may well picture to ourselves as affording excellent natural fastnesses for the early types of man that inhabited this part of England before the valleys excavated by the glaciers were filled with their now thick alluvial deposit.

From Bardon we can indeed imagine that—as in the case of Beacon Hill—the early nomads may have signalled to their kin at Barr Beacon, some forty miles distant, and visible from Bardon on a clear day. Covered with thick forests and frequented by the larger animals of the chase, some now extinct or now only kept in a state of

semi-protection, *e.g.* the red-deer, this submerged mountain range would have afforded an ideal point of vantage to tribes liable to be raided by their neighbours of Sherwood or of the adjoining Forest of Arden.[1]

Evidence of Druidical worship—to whatever period of the early history of the British or Celtic tribes, Stone, Bronze, or Iron Age we may refer it—is afforded by the traditions connected with such natural monuments as the Hanging Stone—another form of the word "Stonehenge"—near the Oaks Church, and the rocks called the Hanging Stones at Beaumanor—natural monoliths of Charnwood Forest rocks—as well as others at Whitwick and at Bawdon Castle. The "Altar Stones" at Markfield, and possibly some megaliths at Beacon Hill, may too have had a like significance.

No true Druidic, or so-called Druidic, cromlechs, stone-circles, or cairns occur in the county. The monoliths, such as stone pillars and long pillars (menhirs), are all natural rocks untouched by man, but doubtless used, in prehistoric and perhaps later in Romano-British or even post-Roman times in some places, for rites and ceremonies or for flashing beacon-lights from one point to another.

In the neighbourhood of Leicester there are two stones of this kind which have been the subject of much speculation. The first was situated in the "Johnstone Close," about a mile from Leicester, near the Abbey. In 1807 it stood seven feet above the ground, but in 1874 it was said to be about two feet. It had been roughly shaped and had no striations on the surface. It was called the "Little John's Stone," or "St. John's Stone."[2]

Another stone of local interest, and of which there are

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[1] Other heights in this district are Beacon Hill, already mentioned, 818 feet; Brombriggs, 777; Bawdon Castle, 769; Hammercliff, 690; Tin Meadows, 680; Pelder Tor, 660; White Hill, 640; Benscliff Wood, 606; Green Hill, 600; Tor Head, 600; Whittle Hill, 568; Sty Hills, 560. Most of these are etymologically of Celtic origin.

[2] See further for this and the Humberstone stone, *post*, *Vestiges of Paganism*.

many traditional accounts, the Humber Stone or Holy Stone, is situated in the parish of Humberstone, on the farm of Mr. Kirby (in 1874). It still lies in the same spot, though it has been reduced in size.

Situated about five or six miles from Leicester, to the N.E., is another stone called "The Moody Bush Stone." It is to be seen in a field on the left side of the "Ridge Way," in Moody Bush Field, New York Farm, near Syston. It projects four feet above the ground, and is embedded three or four feet below the surface, and is pentagonal, tapering gradually to the top. It is sharp, angular, longer than broad, and has been placed in the ground by human agency. The longer axis of the pentagon at the top of the stone points N. and S., the shorter axis E. and W. It is composed of Charnwood volcanic agglomerate.

Mr. J. Plant, F.G.S.,[1] gives a note upon this stone as follows:—

"This monolith, standing in a field on a very ancient road called the 'Ridge Way,' running S.E. to Tilton-on-the-Hill, is upon an elevation commanding a view of the surrounding country for many miles on all sides, and may have served as a post of observation, or for a 'beacon fire,' or for communication signals of other 'beacon fires,' for which evidence exists in this county at Borough Hill, lying due E. 7 miles. [Comparison may be drawn between the use suggested for this stone and those of Beacon Hill and the other eminences referred to *ante*.]

"The monolith is remarkable for having its longer axis due N. and S. There is a tradition which says it was called 'Mowde Bush Stone,' and a former owner of one of the large estates near Mountsorrel held a court at that place called 'Mowde Bush Court,' and this landowner and his stewards used to go to 'Mowde Bush Hill,' where the stone is, and cut a turf, which was brought into court. The stone has been in its present position from time immemorial.

"There is a general tradition also that it was usual for persons from neighbouring districts to bring a turf and put on it."

Whether this custom is a survival of a still more ancient one is not known, but the site and orientation of the stone point to an earlier usage than tradition assigns to it.

Reference to these monoliths has been made not because

[1] *Report of the British Association*, 1879, 1880, p. 112.

it is suggested that their first ceremonial or other usage—if such has been the case—was coeval with the earliest man in Leicestershire, but because they are of stone and relics of the Ice Age which separates us from the earlier remains of the Jurassic formations. Between the Jurassic formations and the Stone Age there is a hiatus in Leicestershire, and unless some implements to be mentioned hereafter are truly Palæolithic, these monoliths, and the rites, &c., connected therewith, must then be referred either to the late Neolithic Age (of which we have good local evidence) or, more probably, to the Bronze Age, in which the palstave, dagger, and fibula played a part which speaks of a very much more advanced state of civilisation than we meet with either in Palæolithic or Neolithic times. If to the former period, though this is doubtful, then they are closely followed by the implements, weapons, ornaments, or utensils of the newer Stone Age.

We may notice here, in connection with the subject of Druidic customs in Leicestershire, some remarks made by Mr. T. L. Walker,[1] who suggests that Croft Hill corresponded with a Gallic Mesomphalos, of which the following is a transcript:—

"Every early nation appeared to have had its Sacred Hill or Omphalos. In ancient Gaul there was said to have been a Mesomphalos in the centre of the country, on the river Legre, or Loire, where the Druids met periodically for special ceremonies and councils. This Mesomphalos was an isolated hill in the midst of a plain, and was surrounded by a wall and ditch. The idea of such a Mesomphalos was said to have been derived from the Druids of Britain.

"Now, as no Druidical temple had yet been described in Britain at all corresponding with the description of the Gallic Mesomphalos, and as Croft Hill *did* so far correspond with it, as that it was an isolated hill in the midst of a plain, nearly in the centre of the country, on the banks of the river Leire or Soar, and having still traces of a ditch round its base, it seemed quite possible that this hill might have been the Mesomphalos of the British Druids."

Nichols, in his *History of Leicestershire*,[2] figures a flanged bronze celt of early type, found near the Fosse road

[1] *Trans. Leicr. Lit. and Phil. Soc.*, Pt. V., 1853–55, 1879, pp. 163–64, "Druidical Remains at Croft Hill."

[2] Vol. iv. Pt. II. Plate opposite p. 606.

in Croft parish. An unlocalised specimen in the Leicester Museum resembles the figure Nichols gives, and may be the identical example.

Whatever value may be placed upon the foregoing remarks as to the use of Croft Hill in earlier times as a Mesomphalos, the occurrence of the celt certainly indicates the existence of Celtic peoples in the neighbourhood in the Bronze Age.

We are forced by the unwritten past of this misty era to rely solely upon actual *reliquiæ diluvianiæ* as it were, or mere chips of stone and flint. It may be we shall find even proof of their use, as in the lodgment of a rough stone celt in the skull or carcase of an animal or man slain as food or in self-defence. These roughly-hewn and crude celts, flakes and chips of the Palæolithic Age, are all the indications we obtain of the use of implements. Rough drawings upon the bones of victims of the chase, like those found on the Continent, have rarely been found in Great Britain, except at the bone-caves of Creswell Crags in Derbyshire.

The localisation of the finds of such tools and implements helps us to gauge the distribution of early man, and that he was contemporary with the cave animals, too, is evident from the skulls and bones of both man and animals being found side by side in caves and rock-shelters.

The low, wild, and savage type of face and the mean-shaped skull all tell a tale of evolution from the early mammals of the pre-glacial epochs. The roughly-flayed hide thrown over the skin, the unkempt hair, and nomadic unrest of these early progenitors may in turn be suggested by the paucity of the relics of their primitive state of advancement and other evidence.

If we may judge from the relics of this prehistoric age that are still preserved to us, we are bound to regard these peoples as frequenters of the lowland marshes and peat-bogs, amongst which the animals upon which they lived spent the greater part of their existence. In the earliest

epoch of the Stone Age there were many animals still surviving which show that types of the northern, temperate, and southern climates were commingled.

It is in the high-level gravels of river-drift that we find evidence of palæolithic man in England; and in these also have been discovered remains of the ‡brown bear, ‡grizzly bear, ermine, †otter, †fox, ‡wolf, cave-hyena, cave-lion, Irish deer (elk), *extinct fallow deer, *reindeer, ‡roe deer, *red deer, musk sheep, *urus, *bison or aurochs, large hippopotamus, *‡wild boar, *†horse, woolly rhinoceros, *smooth-skinned rhinoceros, *straight-tusked elephant, *mammoth, lemming, pouched marmot, spermophile, †hare, †mouse.[1]

It is evident that Man lived a predatory life, and that his customs and mode of life were most primitive. Most of the animals indicated have left behind traces of their former existence in the Soar valley.

According to the view taken by the Geological Survey, there were three periods of what are called inter-glacial and more temperate conditions, during which Early Palæolithic, Intermediate Palæolithic, and Late Palæolithic man respectively, is regarded as having lived.

Alternating with these were periods of severe glacial conditions, during which the Lower Boulder Clay, Chalky Boulder Clay, and Hessle Boulder Clay were laid down by ice agency in different parts of the country. This was followed by a post-glacial period, in which Neolithic man lived and developed.

Evidences of both the Lower and the Chalky Boulder Clay, and a later Valley Drift, but differing somewhat locally from the above grouping, are distinguished in the glacial accumulations in Leicestershire. Thus there

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[1] Those marked with an asterisk (*) have been found in sands and gravels; but as the mammoth and reindeer survive into the Neolithic times, it is difficult to say when the animals lived whose remains we find locally.

† Those thus marked are not found fossil, but occur in the county at the present day.

‡ Extinct within historic times.

is no very great reason to doubt the occurrence of palæoliths, but, taken in conjunction with the discovery of animals found with Palæolithic man elsewhere, much reason to believe in his former existence. But so far no clearly palæolithic implements have been discovered. Sir John Evans considered it possible that palæolithic implements might be found north of the line drawn from the Wash to the Bristol Channel, over which area boulder clay deposits are universally distributed, and south of a line drawn between these points palæoliths occur at a large number of localities. At Saltley in Warwickshire, and Lincoln, both north of this line, palæoliths have in fact been found. And it is not without some support from the local occurrence of extinct mammalia, such as the mammoth and reindeer, associated elsewhere with palæolithic implements, that we suggest that a crude type of flint, found in Leicestershire, to all appearances worked, and exhibiting a bulb of percussion, may be a true palæolith. One such was found by the writer in a gravel-pit at Scraptoft, unfortunately not *in situ*, but doubtless derived from the sands and gravels there exhibited in section. And in looking over some flints, &c., from the neighbourhood of Leicester, now in the Museum collection, another example of almost identical pattern and workmanship was found. This came from near the river Soar in gravel, in excavations at Jarrom Street, and it may be noted that numbers of bones, &c., of mammalia, some extinct, have been discovered in the same district. Two others of St. Acheul type[1] were found in gravel at Drift Hill between Syston and Sileby. Whether these flints are to be regarded as palæolithic or not, the existence of the mammalia does not preclude, but, on the other hand, rather suggests, the presence of man in the same district. They frequented the same low-lying ground, and as man lived in the south and east of England during

[1] These were found by Mr. J. W. Watts, and identified at the British Museum as Palæolithic.

Palæolithic times, there is good ground for assuming his existence elsewhere, especially in districts such as the vicinity of Charnwood with its elevated hills, which we have no reason to assume were ever entirely submerged in the glacial epoch. But in all cases of this kind it is necessary to remember that implements of Palæolithic form may have been used by Neolithic man.

On the east of the Soar valley we find the same general kind of contour, but instead of level plains, as in the west, the country consists of plateau-like hills, frequently undulating to the east, and, where the escarpment of the Middle Lias marl-stone runs in a zigzag manner from north to south, forming a series of frontier-like bulwarks facing mainly towards the western horizon, we find there are a number of hills of some height scattered over this district. Thus Whadborough Hill, near Tilton, is some 750 feet high; Burrough Hill and Life Hill, near Billesdon Coplow, reach 700 feet; and Tilton Hill and the high ground around Belton, East Norton, Somerby, Stathern, Harby, Waltham, and Belvoir, all afford excellent outlooks over the surrounding grass-country; and being flat-topped or plateau-like, they have served the purpose of encampment, fortifications, burial grounds, barrows, tumuli, &c., during no doubt a long series of different stages in the gradual colonisation of these islands by invading or immigrating nations in Roman and post-Roman times; whilst there is little doubt that before them the Celtic tribes of the Coritani—especially in late Celtic times, as shown by the distribution of bronze objects discovered in this district—were settled upon, or hard by, many of these natural citadels, occupied doubtless also by man in the Stone Age.

PART II

MAN IN THE NEW STONE AGE, THE BRONZE AND IRON AGES

"Arma antiqua manus, ungues, dentesque fuerunt,
Et lapides, et item silvarum fragmina rami,
Et flammae, atque ignes, postquam sunt cognita primum
Posterius ferri vis est aerisque reperta
Sed prius aeris erat quam ferri cognitus usus."

—LUCRETIUS, lib. i. l. 282.

When we turn to the end of the Stone Age or late Neolithic times we find abundant evidence of man's presence in the county. By this time the climate had changed from a dry cold, characteristic of the older Stone Age, to a temperate and somewhat humid climate. The mammoth and other mammalia had become extinct, and the reindeer had migrated to the countries where it is found at the present day—Lapland and the farthest north—and with it went part of the early Stone Age population.

Great Britain had become finally separated from the Continent, and continental conditions no longer prevailed.

From a crude and savage state man had evolved into a more civilised being. He converted the rude stone axe-head of the earlier period into carefully ground and polished celts. He had advanced to the conception of binding these to a haft or handle from holding them simply in the hollow of the hand; and by means of a sharp cutting-edge, he was enabled to turn these implements or weapons to good advantage, fashioning them no whit differently to those used by the savage nations still living—or lately living—in the conditions of a stone age.

He likewise made massive stone hammers with a skilfully drilled hole for the insertion of a shaft; with these he could drive the piles of his lake-dwelling or other habitation deep into the lake or ground. Everything now, in fact, points to the establishment of more permanent settlements.

Neatly chipped arrow-heads of stone, barbed or leaf-shaped, indicate that he had conceived the idea of killing his prey without coming to close quarters, and in this circumstance there is exhibited a more marked degree of the instinct of self-preservation than we can find in the earlier Stone Age.

Carefully-made scrapers and knives, chisels, saws, &c., show that he was particular in his mode of feeding, &c. He also fashioned mortars and pestles for grinding corn, and tilled the soil, domesticating animals for his own use.

That he had found out the secret of making pottery, by burning and modelling clay, sometimes with ornament, is evident from the recurrence of urns in the barrows.

Textile fabrics likewise were made by these still primitive people, and we find instances of the use of the early weaving apparatus in the polished pebbles bored to serve as a weight to the spindle-whorl. Fire was obtained (as perhaps in the previous age) by striking flints together, a discovery which would naturally follow from the manufacture of the implements themselves ; and it is interesting to note that until the early Victorian era this method was in use in Europe not only for flashing fire in the pan of weapons of warfare, but also for obtaining light for domestic arrangements. At the present day this method survives amongst certain primitive tribes.

The burial of the dead was an important feature of Neolithic times. The barrows of this period are long-shaped, pointing east and west,[1] and contain sepulchral urns with calcined bones and other objects which were buried with the dead.

To this period locally we may possibly assign in part both the erection of the structures and the inception of the curious rites and ceremonies connected with megalithic monuments and the beginning of Druidic worship. Sun,

[1] One at Ratcliffe or Shipley Mill is nearly 300 feet long and 50 broad, but, though partly excavated, nothing is recorded from it.

moon, stars, and other natural objects or phenomena were worshipped; and amulets and charms find their place in the tomb of the dead.

Besides stone, clay, and wood, bone and other materials were used in this age, and doubtless many of the bones of cervine animals that are found cut and pick-shaped, as at Barrow-on-Soar, belong to this time. Bone pins and other objects, as well as teeth of the wild boar pierced for suspension, are not uncommon, but may be rather later in date or of the Bronze Age.

It is indeed sometimes difficult to draw any sharp line of demarcation between the Stone, Bronze, or Iron Ages, and to assign to either of these the anomalous articles of horn, bone, and wood, &c., sometimes found in association with other articles of undoubted Stone, Bronze, or Iron Age type, and the terms British or Celtic likewise cannot be restricted in any more rigid a manner to a definite period.

So far as the Neolithic phase is concerned, we know it lasted down to about 1800 B.C.[1] More than this we cannot affirm. In Leicestershire we find a considerable number of objects that may be referred to the Neolithic Age, typical mainly of the latter portion of that period. Stone celts have been found at Battle Flat, Cliff Hill, and a beautifully shaped spatulate polished celt was discovered there and presented to Leicester Museum in 1861. A large ochreous flint celt was found on Ashby Wolds in 1809 in the corner of a field where the lane to Blackfordby diverges from the Overseal and Ashby turnpike road.

Edward Mammatt,[2] an authority on coal-mining in this county, wrote of the antiquity of the workings:—

"The outcrop of the coal in the parishes adjoining Ashby has been worked at early periods. In Measham, where the bed was not more than 40 or 50 feet from the surface, indications of ancient workings were

[1] But this varied in different parts of the country, the Neolithic phase beginning earlier in S. England. Type and date are not synonymous in prehistoric sense by any means.

[2] *Geological Facts*, 1834, p. 9.

found—in stone hammer-heads and large wedges of flint with hazel withes round them; also wheels of solid wood about 18 inches in diameter. In the north-west corner of Ashby parish, in South Wood, and at Heath-End very extensive remains of iron furnaces appear; the surface is exceedingly broken, and *scoriæ* fill a valley of considerable size."

Thus there is little doubt that coal was worked in prehistoric times.

Celts of different types and shapes have been discovered at Ratcliffe, at Belgrave Gravel Pit, and at Butt Close Lane, Leicester, 12 feet below the surface, Noseley, Shackerstone, Stoney Stanton, 2½ feet below the surface, Witherley, Hastwell Common. At the Abbey Park an adze-shaped flint, notched at one end, was found in the Abbey meadow.

Portion of a "greenstone" celt was found in August 1908 by the writer in the Gipsy Lane Brickpit, near Leicester, doubtless derived from beds above. A nicely polished light buff celt was also found at Kirby Muxloe, and others have occurred at Loughborough.

Perforated axe-heads have been found at Barrow-on-Soar, Leicester Cemetery, and Witherley. Perforated stone discs were found under a Roman pavement in Bath Street, at Bottesford, and another was found by "Flint Jack," a clever manufacturer of flint "forgeries," on a grotto, as he affirmed. Perforated hammer-heads have been obtained at Wharf Street, 12 feet deep, Anstey, Frisby, and at East Leake, Nottinghamshire.

A stone pestle or muller was found at Cliff Hill, and another near Leicester, and one is recorded by Sir John Evans from Osbaston.

A hammer-stone, possibly used as a stone bat or club, like those used at the present day by savage tribes, was found in the bed of the river Soar near the Abbey meadow.

Circular polished pebbles, perhaps used as spindle-whorls, have been found at Thurnby and Silver Street, Leicester. The latter may be Roman. Likewise pierced, but in this case naturally, is a specimen of a "witch-stone"

from Wymeswold, presented to Leicester Museum by Mr. T. R. Potter, a local antiquary, author of *Charnwood Forest.* Sir John Evans[1] says the Scotch examples are "hung up in the byres as a protection for the cattle," and of the Leicestershire example writes :—

"In the museum at Leicester is a 'witch-stone' from Wymeswold, a pebble with a natural hole towards one end, which has been preserved for many generations in one family, and has had great virtues attributed to it. It prevented the entrance of fairies into the dairy ; it preserved milk from taint ; it kept off diseases, and charmed off warts, and seems to have been valuable alike to man and beast."

Of pebbles found in barrows, Sir John Evans also writes (*Ibid.*, p. 467) :—

"A beautiful pink pebble, supposed to have been placed with the body as a token of affection, was found in a sepulchral cist at Breedon, Leicestershire ; some querns and an iron knife appear to have accompanied the interment, so that it may belong to a comparatively late period."

Doubtless the two last objects are of much later date, but they are here referred to as being stone articles.

Many querns of different types, used for grinding corn, have been found in Leicestershire, and they are likewise of much later date for the most part, the use of the large millstone turned by oxen surviving until quite recent times.

Rings of burnt clay found at Barrow-on-Soar and at Leicester may belong to this period, but their use is not really known. Possibly, as has been suggested, they were used as net-sinkers. Two are in Leicester Museum.

A "strike-a-light" of flint was found at Aylestone, with flint scrapers and a spall. A curiously shaped flake used as a scraper, discoloured as though by use, was found upon a gravel drive at South Croxton by the writer, whilst others have been found at Dane Hills, Belgrave, Shoulder-of-Mutton Hill, Cherry Orchard, and part of a lance-head near the Pavilion, Victoria Park.

Flint arrow-heads, barbed and leaf-shaped, have been

[1] *The Ancient Stone Implements, Weapons, and Ornaments of Great Britain*, 2nd ed., revised 1897, p. 470.

found at Croxton Kerrial, Burrough Hill, Mountsorrel Syston, Spinney Hill, Leicester, and Bede House meadows. A specimen resembling a hammer-head was found lying on the side of a path in allotments near the Evington Brook, Leicester, near the last locality.

What may be regarded as pounding-stones of quartzite have been found near the West Bridge, and similar stones have occurred at Scraptoft, and also at Barrow-on-Soar.

A natural pebble of flint bored by a sponge, found at Leicester, was perhaps used as a "witch-stone" or a spindle-whorl or hammer-head.

A flint core from which flakes have been struck was found in 1902 at Swithland, and more recently a block of flint resembling a core, having its sides shaped by flaking, was found at Tilton by the writer.

It is obvious that when we come to consider the relics of the next phase of civilisation, viz., that of the Bronze Age, we are dealing with a period in which the original inhabitants of this country had progressed very rapidly towards a knowledge of the secret of the art of working metals and making alloys in their true proportion. This secret, like others, came doubtless from the Continent, brought over by immigrant Celts from Gaul or the Rhine district.

The Stone, Bronze, and Iron Ages are to be regarded as phases of civilisation rather than periods of time. We have indications that they merge into each other, and also that they were not synchronous all the world over.

We may, however, roughly fix the close of the Stone Age at about 1800 B.C., for the Phœnicians certainly visited these islands between 1600 and 1500 B.C. (possibly earlier), and the use of bronze (an alloy of tin and copper in the proportion of one to ten) was then known to the aboriginal inhabitants of this country. It is more difficult, perhaps, to draw any line between the Bronze and Iron Age than between the former and the Stone Age. We therefore propose to deal with the periods during which the early inhabitants had attained to a knowledge of metallurgy

together. Broadly speaking, the Bronze Age culminated about 500 B.C., but bronze was used later when iron was becoming to be more universally employed, that is onwards into late Celtic [1] and early British phases of culture.

A further point to be noted in the close of the Stone Age and the introduction of metal was the difference in the character of the barrows used for burial. In the Bronze and Iron Ages they were round, and generally found to contain both burnt and unburnt burials, which were deposited in crudely ornamented earthen sepulchral urns, cinerary urns, with which also occur drinking cups, food vessels, and incense cups.

Cinerary urns used for containing the ashes of cremated human bones have been discovered at Aylestone, Market Bosworth, Mountsorrel, Noseley, Stockerston, and Round Hill, Syston. At Round Hill human bones were found in the urn. An incense cup was discovered at Mountsorrel Hill. It was said to have contained fragments of bones, and coins of Hadrian, Julia, &c. But Mr. C. Roach Smith suggested that the latter were not associated with it, or, if so, only by reason of the place being resorted to through successive ages for burial, the hill affording a natural stronghold to early British tribes before Roman times.

The objects, called celts, used as implements or weapons, fastened to a wooden haft by means of withies or fibre, were now of bronze instead of stone. They were flanged or socketed, and provided with loops for attachment. The moulds for these palstaves are occasionally found. Thus there is half of one in Leicester Museum, evidently used for casting a socketed celt with a loop. In this example traces of lead may still be seen in the loop groove. This was found on the summit of Beacon Hill, where also a flat celt was found. In 1858 a "hoard" of bronze celts, &c., was

[1] It has been pointed out that the Kelts of philology (Gaels and Brythons), migrating from the Continent in the fourth century B.C., are the Kymry or Welsh, and must be distinguished from the Kelts of history (of Central France, Goidels), who migrated from the Continent in the fifth and sixth centuries B.C., and became the Gaelic of Ireland, Isle of Man, and Scotland.

discovered, consisting of a socketed celt, a socketed gouge or chisel, two leaf-shaped spear-heads with rivet-holes through the sockets and an armlet. Bone, pottery, and burnt clay and charcoal were associated with the articles enumerated. These objects are of late Bronze Age, but at the foot of the hill an early form of flat celt was found in ploughing a field. The extensive character of this find at Beacon Hill suggests the existence of a considerable celt industry. One of the specimens contained traces of lead, suggesting the use of lead castings, and Mr. E. K. Clark, who examined one, thought that though bronze castings occur, the usual method was to cast in lead. The armlet found was dug up fifty yards from the celts. Roman remains have been found here also, so that the place was used during a long period, doubtless for defensive purposes.

The interest in Beacon Hill lies in the fact that it is one of the very few Bronze Age Settlements known up to the present. The occurrence of both early and late types of celt points to its utilisation as a stronghold for some time. Its proximity to the ancient prehistoric road from Saltby suggests that it was used for a protection to the early traders in salt on their way to and fro between Nantwich and Saltfleet, and thence by water to Holland.

A bronze celt with stop-ridges was found whilst ditching at Bardon Hill about 1875, and likewise a bronze spear-head with socket and small bar-loops of English type. Other celts have been discovered in the same district, showing that Charnwood was well populated by early British tribes. Thus Potter figures one in his *Charnwood Forest*, from Benscliffe, found during planting operations. Nichols gives an illustration of a series of twelve bronze objects[1] found 6 feet below the surface at Husband's Bosworth in 1801 in Gravel Pit Close, consisting of four looped and socketed celts, two socketed celts without loops, three socketed

[1] *History of Leicestershire*, vol. iii. Pt. II., p. 1126.

gouges, two spear-heads, and an object which may be a ferrule of a spear-head.

In the Leicester Museum there is a flanged celt which resembles one figured by Nichols,[1] found near the Fosse Road at Croft. The same author[2] figures two other socketed and looped celts found on Bosworth Field.

A celt in the Leicester Museum, with stop-ridges and loops, is said to have been saved from a refuse-heap of old iron, &c., in Leicester, but it is not known whether it is of local origin. A socketed celt has been found also in the neighbourhood of Syston, near the river Soar and Fosse Road.

Of daggers several have been found in the town or county of Leicester. Thus one was discovered during excavations for the Flood sewer, Abbey meadow, 12 feet below the surface. Another was found with a fragment of a human skull in the river Wreake, Syston, 19 feet below the surface, and 11 feet below the bed of the river, lying on red marl, and under 17 or 18 feet of bluish mud, in 1873.

In excavating a ditch on the Great Northern Railway near Ingarsby Station, close to which there are remains of tumuli and earthworks, a leaf-shaped bronze dagger was found; but it was brought in gravel from the Trent district, so its locality is doubtful.

A broad leaf-shaped knife-dagger with nine rivets, with portion of the bone handle, used for burial with the dead, Sir Augustus Franks called a good sepulchral specimen, early Bronze Age, and Mr. Harrison[3] says it was found "resting on a human skull." It was discovered with the remains of a human skeleton, about 2 feet deep, resting on the gravel, in Sydney Street, Leicester, about 7 feet from the edge of the foot road leading to Belgrave, in 1868.

The rest of the objects found in the county rather bespeak a late Celtic Age, when iron had been introduced by a

[1] *Op. cit.*, vol. iv. Pt. II., p. 606.
[2] *Op. cit.*, vol. iv. Pt. II., plate opposite p. 557.
[3] *Geol. Leics. and Rutland*, 1879, p. 51.

second immigration of Brythons from the Continent, followed by Belgic incursions preceding the Roman invasion.

The most interesting of these objects are undoubtedly the remains of wooden buckets with staves bound with bronze, and bearing characteristic ring ornament of British type with figures of ox-heads of the long-fronted prehistoric type. A bronze vertical strap bears ornament of spiral scrolls with raised rings at intervals. The handle and basal bronze supports are likewise elegantly ornamented with concentric ornament and beadwork. This bucket, which has been restored, came from a Roman well at Mountsorrel. The Mountsorrel bucket is of great interest, because it has been said that it is one of the very few examples of native manufacture. Of the Aylesford and Marlborough buckets, with which it has been compared, Dr. A. J. Evans writes (*in litt.*):—

"With regard to the Aylesford bucket, I do not intend to say[1] that it was of foreign manufacture, but that it presents decorative features in close relation with continental types. There is perhaps more ground for thinking that the Marlborough bucket may be of Armorican importation."

The Mountsorrel bucket was found in a Roman well, and with it an undoubted Bronze Age urn, so that its Celtic age may be presumed to be correct. But, as in the case of the Twyford bucket fragments, where the other objects were Anglo-Saxon, there is a very close resemblance in the art exhibited, which is of a low zoomorphic type, to that found in some Anglo-Saxon fibulæ, where in a more conventional form the long-fronted ox is represented in a specimen of local origin from Westcotes (see *infra*). At a place between Twyford and Burrough Hill a portion of another bucket, with staves and part of the handle, was found. The handle is similar to that of the Mountsorrel bucket. With it a socketed celt is said to have been found. These objects prove that the civilisation at this period was a great advance upon that of the Stone Age; for in this ornate

[1] As quoted in the *Vict. Hist. Leicestershire.*

Bronze Age Bucket from Mountsorrel.

and elegantly-made utensil we see evidence of a well-appointed, primitive homestead of some powerful Celtic chieftain.

In the remains also of personal ornaments, such as armlets, we have proof of the existence of some degree of luxury and taste amongst our early pre-Roman forefathers.

That the horse now played an important part in the history of warfare and in agricultural or purely civic operations, is clear from the occurrence of trappings and fragments, possibly of chariot wheels. Thus at Great Easton, in the S.E. of the county, a bronze object, believed to be part of a horse's bridle, was found, and another at Bath Lane, 5 feet from the surface. And at High Cross an object consisting of "two pieces connected by a hollow-necked spindle" was found. Nichols figures a fragment similar to this—possibly an armlet—from Husband's Bosworth.

In the British Museum there is a bronze terret, an object used as a guide-ring for the reins of a horse's harness, found at Leicester.

It is with some doubt we refer to this late Celtic period some urns found at Willoughby Waterless, Cook's brick-yard, Leicester, and elsewhere, as between Twyford and Burrough-on-the-Hill.

The mode of burial of this late period is illustrated by the discovery of a cist at Stonton Wyville in 1869, comprised of slabs of stone set up in the form of a cist, containing a skeleton with legs gathered up lying on its side. These were found with the bones, ashes, and charcoal, and the cist was 6 feet below the surface.

Belonging to the latest period of British history preceding the Roman occupation are some coins found at Hallaton, near Leicester, and at Loughborough. These belong, so far as they have been deciphered, to Tascovianus, who was father of the celebrated Cunobelinus, and were struck probably at Verulamium.

A note may be added as to some of the remains of

fortresses, strongholds, tumuli, &c., scattered up and down the county in great profusion and variety.

The tumuli are frequent. In one at Round Hill, Barkby, a Roman urn was found, and Roman remains were found in another at Barrow-on-Soar. There are others at Croxton Kerrial and Gaddesby. At Higham-on-the-Hill a very ancient oak cross was found. A bell-shaped barrow at Kibworth Harcourt contained a bone bodkin, and traces of a paved floor were discovered, also ashes, fragments of burnt wood, bones, teeth, pottery, and iron. There are other tumuli at Kirby Bellars, Leicester Castle, Medbourne, Melton, Peckleton, Ratcliffe-on-the-Wreake (only example of a Neolithic long barrow), Saltby, Shawell, where there is a bell-shaped barrow, Stoke Golding, Tilton, Ingarsby, and elsewhere.

Probably of British Age are the interesting strongholds at Billesdon and Mountsorrel that come under the heading of promontory fortresses, which are rendered impregnable because composed of cliff-like earthworks, readily held by a few chosen men, the natural fastness being strengthened by dyke or mound. Flint arrow-heads and Celtic utensils and pottery have been discovered at Mountsorrel.

The bulwarks at Breedon-on-the-Hill, the flat-topped plateau of Burrough, where probably both Celtic and Roman encampments were made, Beacon Hill with its evident traces of early British occupation, which are still evident apart from the bronze relics already mentioned, and the elaborate earthworks at Sanvey Castle near Owston Wood are natural sites for primitive fortifications. Tilton, Whadborough Hill, Robin-a-Tiptoes, Colborough, and other elevations may all be described as hill forts, though the latter is more naturally regarded as a camp of refuge, situated upon lower ground than the last-named eminences. At Breedon querns and later relics have been found. Burrough has afforded traces of flint arrow-heads.

Enclosures consisting of simply defended earthworks are numerous, and are to be seen at Belton, Burton Overy,

Hallaton, Ingarsby, Knaptoft, Lubenham, Witherley or Mancetter on the Watling Street, Market Harborough, Ratby, Sapcote, and Tilton. At Mancetter celts and flint implements and Roman coins have been discovered. Most of these enclosures were doubtless used either in Celtic or Roman times. That at Ingarsby has been utilised since those periods, and that at Thorpe Arnold has doubtless been used as a British encampment before it was adapted in the Middle Ages for purpose of defence.

There are also many earthworks that cannot be placed in any of the above categories. Such are the elaborate earthworks called King Lud's entrenchments at Croxton Kerrial. At Knaptoft doubtless there was an early British camp. The earthworks at Dane Hills, Leicester, were probably utilised in Celtic times since flint flakes have been found, before the people whose name they bear pitched upon them as a natural encampment. Likewise the Raw Dykes were thrown up when the county was as yet unsubjugated by Roman rule. This encampment at Leicester has always excited attention. Of these earthworks, which were much more extensive than they are now, Mr. Hollings wrote :—

"That the central part of the modern Leicester is included within the lines of an ancient Roman encampment may be almost indisputably proved. It does not, however, follow that we must look to precisely the same site for the original Celtic *Rath* or fortified settlement. For obvious reasons a military station would scarcely in the first instance be formed in such a manner as to include within the same defences the homes of a disaffected population and the dwellings of the conquerors ; but rather on some rising ground in the neighbourhood, which united the advantage of security with the ready command of supplies from a mart close at hand. It is for this reason I am inclined to believe that the singular double embankments, of which a portion may still be seen close to the Aylestone toll-gate, but which once extended from the vicinity of the South-Gates to a distance of about half-a-mile, forming a kind of rude arc of which the river Soar might be regarded as the chord, are to be regarded as the boundary of the British stronghold or location, to which the Roman Ratae was indebted for its name. The words of Cæsar, known to every classical student, are full authority for the fact, that the inhabitants in his day were accustomed to protect their residences with earthworks of this description. 'Oppidum autem Britanni vocant, quum sylvas impeditas vallo

atque fossa munierunt, quo hostium vitandae causa convenire consueverunt'—'The Britons give the name of the town to the thick woods, which they fortify by an embankment and ditch, and within which they are accustomed to assemble to avoid incursions of the enemy.' Moreover, the embankments are undoubtedly not of Roman origin, for they differ widely from the generality of earthworks which are known to have been constructed by that people; while they closely resemble the double rampart and intermediate fosse, which are found at Bennavenna, or Borough Hill, already alluded to, in the camps of Caradoc or Caractacus in South Wales, and in other certain British localities."

In earthworks at Melton Mowbray, east of Spinney Farm, flint flakes were found, and there was later an Anglo-Saxon burial-ground in the vicinity. Many of the earthworks here classed were doubtless fish-ponds, as those at Hoby, Owston, and Newbold, Stonton Wyville. At Saxby funereal relics have been found west of the church, and Anglo-Saxon fibulæ in great variety. At Stapleton there is the site of an early camp used later by the troops of Richard III. on his way to Bosworth from Leicester in 1485.

Many mounds are scattered up and down the county. Upon these many of the early Norman and later mediæval castles were erected, but some may have been utilised prior to those days. Some of the most interesting are Belvoir, Castle Donington, Ratcliffe Culey, and Scraptoft.

LEICESTERSHIRE UNDER ROMAN INFLUENCE

By A. R. Horwood

WE have described briefly in the last chapter the condition of the Celtic tribes, and alluded incidentally to the existence of a Roman settlement at Leicester itself, as indicated by the Roman name Ratae (an adaptation from the Celtic "rath"), handed down to us to the present day in the relics of a former fortified enclosure at "Raw Dykes."

British history, from the time of Julius Cæsar onwards, is merged in the movements of Rome. Nothing is known of the state or history of Britain until the times of Claudius except that it was tributary to Rome, and that the British peoples copied their subjugators, and were in frequent and close touch with the headquarters of that (at the time) dominant empire. This servile imitation of the conquering race is best illustrated by the establishment of a coinage modelled upon Roman lines, and we have evidence in Leicestershire, as noted in the last chapter, of the occurrence of coins of Tascovianus.

It is mainly upon numismatical evidence that we must rely for our knowledge of the presence of the Roman occupants of this country between the years following Julius Cæsar's final return to Gaul and the expedition of Claudius; for in the intervening periods during which the empire was ruled by Augustus and Tiberius, Britain was left alone.

In Leicestershire, however, we know from the discovery of coins of Julius Cæsar (B.C. 62–44) at Rothley, of Marcus Antoninus (B.C. 44–30) at High Cross and Edmondthorpe,

of a coin of Augustan age (B.C. 29–14) at St. Nicholas Square, that intimacy with Rome was not broken. Near the Bow Bridge, Leicester, and at High Cross also, coins of Caligula (A.D. 37–41) have been unearthed, and at Leicester we find evidence of the coins of Claudius (A.D. 41–54).

It was in A.D. 43 that Claudius despatched Aulus Plautius to Britain with four legions to carry out the occupation of the country. These were the second, ninth, fourteenth, and twentieth legions. The ninth remained in the south under the proprætorship of Suetonius Paulinus, the others served in Wales, and doubtless Caerleon and Chester arose in time as towns as a result of this campaign. About the middle of the century the central districts were first brought under subjection. In this connection we may refer to some remarks made by Mr. J. F. Hollings in an abstract of a lecture on "Roman Leicester":[1]—

"The inhabitants of Britain at that time were not savages; their civilisation was at least equal to that of Greece in the time of Homer. Their power as warriors was sufficient to frustrate the first attempts of Cæsar to subjugate the island. Ten years of war and thirty pitched battles only brought the Romans to the Severn. Leicestershire was not conquered till about the year 50 A.D., when the Roman general, Ostorius, having resolved to form a line of forts across the centre of Britain, was opposed by the Iceni, who entrenched themselves in a great camp, probably that of Borrough Hill, but who were beaten after an obstinate struggle and their army annihilated."

It should be remarked that the Borough Hill here mentioned is not the Leicestershire one, but is situated near Daventry, and is the Roman Bennavenna. The presence of the Proprætor Ostorius Scapula in Leicestershire is perhaps best fixed by the perpetuation of his memory in the name assigned to a passage over a brook close to the village of Gaddesby, which is called *Ostor-ford*, as remarked by T. R. Potter.[2]

The closing years of the first century must have

[1] *Trans. Leicr. Lit. and Phil. Soc.*, Part V., 1850–55, 1879, p. 141.

[2] As a Saxon suffix is added to the word, it was doubtless used later in the days of the Anglo-Saxons as a ford.

witnessed a great development in the size and status of Roman Leicester.

Coins of Germanicus, Nero, Otho, Vespasian are frequent, especially the latter (and Vespasian captained the second legion in Britain before he became Emperor)—Titus, Domitian, Nerva, Trajan, Sabina continue the record of chronology up to the time of Hadrian (A.D. 117–138); whilst evidence from the character of the Roman architectural remains points to the existence of large buildings with heavy plinths and capitals by the beginning of the second century. Doubtless many of these were erected during the time of Julius Agricola (A.D. 80–90). Many pieces of the beautiful so-called Samian ware, or "Terra Sigillata," made abroad and imported, bear potters' marks which indicate that they belong to the type of ware termed "La Graufesenque," which was made between 16 and 80 A.D. Such are those stamped with the names "Aeternim, Aviti," &c., found in Berridge Street and Sycamore Lane.

We now come to one of the most important relics of Roman activity in Leicestershire, viz., the Roman milliaire or milestone, discovered nearly one hundred and fifty years ago at Thurmaston, dedicated to the Emperor Hadrian. Hadrian was tribune first in A.D. 105. He was tribune again and for the second time consul in 118, in the first year of his imperial rule. He was consul for the third time in 119. Trajan died in August 117, so that the date of the milestone, as revealed by the inscription, would be 120 A.D., in which year we know he visited Britain, and doubtless made a triumphal entry to Leicester and other Roman towns.

The Latin inscription on this stone, which was the first of its kind discovered in Britain, runs:—

IMP. CA S
DV. TRAIAN PARTH FD . . . EP
AIAN. HADRIAN . . . B
POT IV cos III A RATIS
II.

which when extended reads as under :—

IMP(ERATORE) CA(E)S(ARE), D(I)V(I) TRAIAN(I) PARTH(ICI) F(ILIO), D(IVI NERVAE). (N)EP(OTE) (TR)AIAN(O) HADRIAN(O) (AUGUSTO PATRE PATRIÆ TRI)B(UNICIA) POT(ESTATE) IV, CO(N)S(ULE) III, A RATIS (Millia passuum) II.

When translated this is explained as follows :—

"In the reign of Cæsar Traianus Hadrianus, son of the divine Traianus Parthicus, and grandson of the divine Nerva Augustus, father of his country, holding the Tribunician power in the fourth year, consul for the third year. From Ratae 2 miles."

This signal memorial of Roman power in Leicestershire survived many vagaries of fortune. It was first discovered in 1771 by some workmen when digging for gravel close to the Melton road or Via Fossana, and about 1 mile south of Thurmaston, or 2 miles from the present Clock Tower. It was found near a square piece of solid masonry which had served for a stepping-stone or horse-block. This latter may have been at one of the posting-houses, *mutationes* or *mansiones*, where post-horses were kept in charge of postillions (*veredarii*), which were distributed regularly along the course of a great Roman highway such as the Fosse, or it may have been one of the places of entertainment (*deversoria, cauponæ*), &c., inns set apart for the refreshment of men and horses. The discovery of the milestone with its inscription so clearly indicating that Roman Leicester was situated 2 miles south, *i.e.* upon the site of the present modern town of Leicester, seems to have excited little or no curiosity at the time. Indeed, it was conveyed to the garden of a Mr. Goodrich of Thurmaston with the object of utilising it as a garden-roller! Had it actually been converted into the latter, it would have been rather a ponderous object to manipulate, for, of columnar form, it is 3 feet 6 inches in height and 23 inches in diameter; it is of a durable millstone grit from Derbyshire, and has been repaired with sandstone and

ROMAN REMAINS, LEICESTER MUSEUM.

(For details see Index.)

oolite. Unfortunately it appears to have suffered much in its subsequent travels, and has apparently been re-cut.

In Mr. Goodrich's garden it was seen by Dr. Percy, Bishop of Dromore, editor of *Reliques of Ancient Poetry*, and he made some sort of research into its former use. This did not result in any immediate attempt to preserve it. For it was by order of one of the high-road commissioners removed to the newly-built Thurmaston turnpike house, the intention being to break it up for macadam. But the interest aroused by Dr. Percy's inquiries prevented such an act of vandalism, though this monument of former days was still left uncared for. However, Dr. Farmer, sometime Master of Emmanuel College, Cambridge, carefully transcribed the inscription, then fairly fresh, and communicated the results of his examination to different societies, with the effect of arousing widespread interest in the stone, and no little ingenious though whimsical explanation of the legend it bore was evoked thereby.

Then in 1783, twelve years after its first discovery, the Leicester Corporation had it removed and mounted upon a square stone pedestal, capped by a cone-shaped stone in which a lamp was fixed, and placed in the highway near Belgrave Gate, where for forty-one years it remained, otherwise unprotected, and exposed to atmospheric action and the possibility of wanton defacement by loungers in the square or passers-by. In 1824 it was repaired, the lamp was removed, and a stone cross fixed in its place. It was protected by iron rails and covered with a coat of paint! In 1844 the Literary and Philosophical Society memorialised the Corporation, and it was thereupon taken down and placed in the Museum of the Mechanics' Institute in Wellington Street. From there, upon the formation of the present museum in the New Walk in 1849, it was again removed, and is now exhibited in the Annexe of that Institution, where it is suitably arranged amongst other Roman architectural remains. The wonder is that, after so many and varied incidents in the course of its

career from its first discovery, it should have survived at all to testify to the undoubted importance of Leicester as a Roman town in Hadrian's day, serving at once to establish both the position of Ratae and its identity with the modern town.

Of this notable object Professor F. Haverfield writes (*in litt.*): "The date is about A.D. 120–121. It cannot be called the oldest milestone in Britain, as there are others of about the same age which are not dated so precisely, but may be a year or two older, *or* a few years later, *or* precisely the same date. There are others more perfect in form and in lettering, in my judgment. I think the lettering on it has been unskilfully or wilfully tampered with, but it is quite a good specimen."

Long ere this milestone was cut and inscribed, the town of Ratae had assumed a definite shape. The extent of the settlement, a stipendiary city, was considerable; the walls, which, however, were of later date and probably built in Constantine's reign, very likely coincided more or less with those of the later mediæval town.

The shape of the town was approximately rectangular, the length from north to south being 2780 feet and the breadth 1740 feet.

It was bounded on the west by a wall running from near St. Mary's Church to Soar Lane, the river lying to the west and forming an excellent natural line of defence upon that side. The north wall ran along Soar Lane and Sanvey Gate; the east side was bounded by a wall running along Gallowtree Gate as far as Horsefair Street; and the south wall connected this with the first-named point. Evidence of the existence of the north, south, and east gates is preserved in the local names. Probably the western gate, also of late date, was formed by the curious structure termed the Jewry Wall, a fine pile of Roman masonry, which has perhaps excited more speculation and has been the subject of more controversy than any other early antiquity found in Leicester, with the possible

exception of the nature of the legend of the tessellated pavement, which probably represents Cyparissus and the Stag.

Within this area innumerable specimens of Roman remains of every description have been found more frequently and in greater abundance than in the surrounding neighbourhood, except in the vicinity of villas such as those at Westcotes and the Cherry Orchard.

Of first interest are the remains of the elaborate and richly ornamented tessellated pavements, of which a large number have been discovered, either within the immediate precincts of the town itself or upon the sites of some outlying villas or settlements. We have evidence of over twenty examples of pavements discovered upon the site of Roman Leicester itself, some of which can be seen *in situ*, whilst others are exhibited in the Annexe set apart for the bulkier Roman remains in the Leicester Museum.

One of these was one found in 1667, 12 feet below the surface, near the Water House, "next to the west end of the Friars on the site of Johnson's Buildings." Unfortunately, in the case of some of the early pavements recorded by Burton, Stukeley, Throsby, and Nichols, details are lacking as to their character, extent, &c. In the case of the next, however, discovered in 1675 opposite the elm-trees near All Saints' Church, there is no need to speculate, for this fine example, one of nine perhaps, is exhibited in the Leicester Museum. The panel portrays a male figure on the right, nude, except for a mantle carelessly flung over the arm; the central figure is a stag; and to the left is Cupid about to discharge an arrow into the stag's heart. The most probable legend that this panel is intended to illustrate is that of Cyparissus and the Stag. With the exception of this pavement, found with two others of plain design in St. Nicholas Street in 1898, in which the central panel depicts a peacock with spreading tail; and one found at the Cherry Orchard, Danett's Hall, where leaping dolphins are represented worked into a geometrical pattern

all the rest of the tessellated floors are of geometrical design varied with floral patterns, the plainer pavements serving doubtless for corridors or vestibules. Such are those found under No. 18 High Cross Street and under Mr. King's house in 1685. Carte records (in Nichols) one found in 1723 at White Lion Inn, and Nichols mentions one found in 1747 at Vauxhall Wharf "in a bathing-room near the river which now rises and damages them," and he figures three very interesting ones of geometrical pattern found in 1754 at the Blackfriars, 35 yards from the river Soar, under a stable, which were in line with each other. These and other architectural remains to be mentioned subsequently indicate that in the vicinity of the western gate, as was usual in Roman towns, the principal public buildings and residences were clustered together. Nichols likewise mentions a pavement found beneath the Recruiting Sergeant's Inn, St. Nicholas Street, and Throsby records one found on the site of the County Gaol, where Free School Lane turns from High Cross Street. One was discovered under the south aisle of St. Martin's Church in 1773, and in 1794 in the Grey Friars, 6 feet below the surface on the south side of St. Martin's Churchyard. On the other side of the river Soar, at the Cherry Orchard, Danett's Hall, Nichols records the discovery of pavements in 1782. But these were not subsequently laid bare and partly removed until 1851 and 1868. Here a house of the courtyard type formed the villa or residence of some Roman official or Romano-British magnate. Two corridors, in addition to four pavements, were discovered. Parts of these are now in Leicester Museum with a plan of the entire excavated remains. A very fine pavement, now to be seen under the Great Central Railway Passenger Station, was found in 1830 at the corner where Friars' Causeway met Jewry Wall Street. It was again brought to light in 1885. In 1839 some pavements were discovered in Vine Street, which are now in the Leicester Museum, with ornament

of flowers and vases and geometrical pattern, and in the same year one was unearthed in excavations from St. Nicholas Street to Talbot Lane, and again in 1889.

During the last half of the nineteenth century sewerage excavations, highway improvements, street widening, &c., had the effect of bringing to light numbers of archæological remains, and amongst these were pavements discovered in 1866 at Southgate Street, in 1871 in Silver Street (only 2½ feet below the surface), with guilloche pattern; Horse-fair Street in 1875, on the site of the New Opera House; Silver Street in 1876; and one in 1885 in Sarah Street, Old Bath Lane, 12 feet by 14 feet by 3 to 4 feet, which was below the river level.

In addition to those previously mentioned, during the widening of the High Street some fragments were discovered at the corner of High Street and High Cross Street, which are now in the Leicester Museum, and two pieces unfortunately destroyed, found opposite St. Martin's Church in 1902. Two pieces were unearthed recently in Town Hall Lane (1902) and in High Street (1903). In the last case, according to a report in the local papers, "both squares slant considerably when compared with the present elevation of the adjacent land, though whether this is due to depression or whether the lay of the land has since altered cannot, of course, be determined."

It will be noticed that all these pavements, with the exception of those found at the Cherry Orchard, a suburban site, were discovered within a very narrow compass, within an area, in fact, circumscribed by the lines already indicated as representing the walls of Roman Leicester. Furthermore these remains of a former magnificence all lie chiefly along the probable route of the more important highways, namely, High Cross Street and High Street, so far as remains hitherto discovered enable us to reconstruct the lines of the Roman street system.

In addition to these pavements we have further indubitable evidence of the permanence of the settlement of the

Romans in Leicester, in the discovery of large numbers of plinths, bases, mouldings, heads or capitals of massive and bulky Roman columns (many found *in situ*), some of Corinthian, Doric, or Attic design, others showing Byzantine influence, and some bearing traces of fire and lead, or otherwise exhibiting marks of use or ill-use, in the mutilation to which they have been subjected. With these also occur stone gutters, and a curious stone tank found in High Cross Street. Most of these columns, &c., were found in St. Nicholas Street,[1] High Cross Street, under or near St. Martin's Church, where extensive remains of walls, bases of Doric columns, and other architectural remains forming a colonnade, indicated what to the early local archæologists represented a temple of Janus, an example of which style of building also has been located by others in the neighbourhood of the Jewry Wall. Other columns were discovered near Wyggeston's Hospital, Cank Street, Sarah Street, Blue Boar Lane, Cherry Orchard. A small figure carved in a niche with head and arm holding a spear was found in Town Hall Lane, which is perhaps the only example of its kind extant so far as local finds are concerned. In these columns we doubtless have remains of the local Forum with its basilica and other public buildings, and from their frequency on either side of the High Street, doubtless the pavements found once formed the entrance halls or courtyards of the more important houses lining the Via Principalis.

The discovery of other remnants of floors of rubble and pebbles cemented together, of wells, of sewers, especially one running east and west, and the finding of both bricks or floor-tiles (as those near the Jewry Wall and Horsefair Street, and in the Abbey Meadow), all point to permanence of occupation. Many of these floor-tiles bear marks of the impress of the Roman sandal, or of pigs' and other animals' feet. The existence of *balnea* or baths and hypocausts of

[1] On one of these an inscription occurs, probably $\frac{\text{MER. C}}{\text{PRD P}}$

private dwellings is rendered certain by the number of flue-tiles discovered, as, for instance, in the remains of a Roman wall found at Talbot Lane, at the Cherry Orchard, High Cross Street, the Jewry Wall, and Silver Street. On one from High Cross Street the words PRIMUS FECIT have been scrawled, probably with a comb-like object. The roof-tiles of Roman buildings were of two kinds, the *tegula* or flat roof-tile and the *imbrex* or ridge-tile. Of the former the most interesting probably of any object found in Leicester—except, perhaps, the Roman milliare from Thurmaston—is a tile from the Grey Friars, stamped IIIVʌ, presumably indicating that the 8th legion was stationed at Leicester.

Doubts have been thrown upon the evidence afforded by this tile, and it has even been suggested that it really was intended for VIIII. (or IX.), but an examination of the tile at once disposes of any such supposition, as the impress is perfect, and unless we assume that the maker or artist, either by accident or design, carved upon his rough wooden block for the stamp VIIIλ, instead of IXλ, we are forced to admit that this tile presents the sole authority for the presence of the 8th legion in Britain. The late Thomas Wright, an antiquary of established repute, notes that originally four legions were stationed in Britain, viz. the 2nd, 9th, 14th, and 20th. The 14th crossed over to assist Vespasian, the military favourite in his day, to obtain the purple. Tacitus tells us the 9th legion was engaged in the campaign against Galgacus in 83 A.D., and was then practically annihilated, after having been previously nearly cut to pieces by Boadicea. On Hadrian's arrival he brought the 6th legion. Ptolemy states that the 2nd was then stationed at Isca (Caerleon), the 6th at Eboracum (York), and the 20th at Deva (Chester). Similar inscriptions upon tiles testifying to the presence of the 2nd and 20th legions have been discovered in Wales.

At the end of the second century the legions stationed in Britain, or part of them, doubtless reinforced Albinus in

his claims for the imperial throne. The form of the letter λ is that in use in the third century, and the two legions mentioned (9th and 14th) returned to Britain, but we do not know whether they were strengthened by another to make up for the loss of the 9th.

Indeed, Wright[1] makes the following statement about this tile:—

> "It may be further remarked that the peculiar character of this monument of the eighth legion has its significance. A mere tablet might have implied simply that the legion in its march had halted to raise or repair some work of defence; but a tile, and that a roof-tile, marked with the name of a legion, shows that the soldiers were employed in erecting buildings of a different character, and those buildings were most probably for their own accommodation. They were, in all probability, barracks. The tile thus furnishes strong evidence that the eighth Roman legion was stationed for some time at Ratae, or Leicester, probably at some period in the third century."

Professor F. Haverfield writes (*in litt.*) as to this: "The λVIII. tile would naturally mean that the 8th legion made the tile by the hands of its legionary brickmakers. But as it is not easy to find a time when this can have occurred, it is better not to be dogmatic either for or against the idea. It is possible that the tile is merely numbered 58, but this does not at present seem to me so likely as I once thought it." Absence of data to the contrary or negative evidence is never so strong as positive evidence. We have here a tile bearing a number and a Greek character similar in kind and form to those indicating (and accepted as indicating) the existence of the other legions in Britain; and if this kind of evidence is utilised in the one case, it must, logically, be used in every other—unless good reason exist against it in any one case; but, so far as I am aware, there is none.

Unless, indeed, we lend credence to this memorial we are faced with the fact that the whole of central Britain, and more particularly the junction of the two important roads at Ratae, was without a garrison of Roman soldiers.

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[1] *The Intellectual Observer*, vol. ii., 1862, p. 182.

Roman Tile from the Grey Friars, Leicester.

Further evidence of Roman buildings is exhibited in the finding of roof-tiles in Talbot Lane, High Cross Street, Horsefair Street, and at Rothley, a villa residence outside Leicester, where roofing-slates have also been discovered. And where floor or roofing materials occur we likewise find drain-pipes or sewer-pipes. Stucco, plaster, painted frescoes, mortar, &c., are likewise recovered from the ruins of the luxurious, probably populous, and well-regulated Roman station at Ratae.

Perhaps more frequent in occurrence—either in fragments, or, more rarely, whole and intact—are the remains of the different types of pottery. Amongst these we may at once recognise the funereal black ware called Upchurch ware, in which occasionally occur burnt bones ; and, doubtless, the majority of the vessels of this class were used, like the beautiful green glass jars, as cinerary urns to contain cremated remains of the dead. In some cases boars' tusks pierced for suspension have also been discovered deposited in these urns. More elegant, because lighter in colour, and painted or covered with white slip, are the different examples of Castor ware. On these inscriptions occasionally occur, *e.g.* MEXI VI, &c.

Of the Samian ware or "terra sigillata" manufactured in Gaul much is of the La Graufesenque type, made during the first century, and many potters' marks borne on others indicate that they are later, or of the second century ; or of Lezoux type ; and belonging to the same century are others of Rheinzabern fabric. Some of this is plain, some embossed, or ornamented with figures of the ivy, the vine, animals of the chase, or human figures.

Examples of what is called Salopian ware, whitish pottery with painted red ornament, are also found. Rims of *mortaria*, often stamped with the mark of the potter, frequently testify again to the versatile character of Roman art. Large *amphoræ*, of which handles are often found, suggest that the wines used were probably imported from Spain or Italy, the liquid being stored in these large clay

receptacles before being poured into the *ampullæ* or decanters for table use. Sometimes the painted Salopian vessels were artistically moulded, the necks of some representing human heads.

Evidence of the following of the gladiatorial profession is romantically bequeathed to us in the form of a piece of Samian ware, found in Bath Lane, scratched with the legend, "VERECUNDA LYDIA LVCIVS GLADIATOR." Doubtless this was a love-token or pledge given by Lucius to his sweetheart Verecunda Lydia, perhaps on the eve of a contest or the morrow following a victory. It is pierced for suspension round the neck.[1]

In another example, consisting of a portion of a glass vessel, perhaps a drinking-cup, found in North Bond Street, figures of gladiators with an inscription are represented, modelled upon the surface of the cup. The gladiators are armed with weapons used in contests in the arena—helmet, shield, short sword, and greaves. One is prostrate. The words inscribed are: ". . . . VS . SPICVLVS COLVMBVS CALM . . ." and denote perhaps the names of those engaged in contest.

These two examples show that Roman manners and customs were usual in Britain, and doubtless their practice influenced the indigenous population. At least we may presume that, during the period of peaceful occupation, the Romans resorted to their national sports and pastimes, and perhaps we may also regard it as possible that the causes leading to the decline and fall of the empire influenced to some extent the people tributary to them. At any rate, when a second invasion by northern Jutes, Angles, and Saxons took place, little opposition was given to their advances.

We may learn, perhaps, more of the highly advanced nature of the Roman culture and state of civilisation from the character of the implements, utensils, and ornaments,

[1] This object is now in Leicester Museum.

manufactured in bronze, than from any other source. Locally we find numerous examples, discovered from time to time on the site of Roman Ratae—chiefly in the same localities from which the highly interesting and imposing relics of architectural grandeur are unearthed.

Some of these may be enumerated, in order to give an idea of the variety of design, &c. A bronze spatula was found in Sycamore Lane. *Styli*, used for writing upon waxed tablets of thin wood, have been discovered in Marble Street, Royal Arcade, and during excavations for the Great Central Railway. At the last locality a *statera* or steel-yard was discovered, which closely resembles in design and principle the modern form. Evidence of the manufacture of metal objects on the spot is afforded by crucibles at Silver Street, Abbey Street, Belgrave Gate, &c. One contained a lump of bronze, another a cake of lead, and bronze. Spoons of bronze are of frequent occurrence, those termed *cochlearia* being used, as the technical name implies, for picking snails, &c., out of their shells.

> "Sum cochleis habilis, sed nec minus utilis ovis,
> Numquid scis potius cur cochleare vocer?"
>
> —MARTIAL, Ep. xvi. l. 121.

Another class of spoons (*ligulæ*), of which examples have been found at Butt Close, was perhaps used for extracting ointments out of narrow-necked bottles.

Table ornament is represented by sockets for candlesticks or candelabra, found in the Royal Arcade and High Cross Street. Handles of other bronze ornaments also occur, most of elegant design. Needles and pins, sometimes with ornamental heads, occur frequently. But perhaps of more general occurrence than any of the foregoing are the *fibulæ* or brooches for personal wear, which are common to almost every site where Roman objects have been discovered in Leicester. Some are enamelled, and many are provided with a safety-pin for attachment analogous to the modern pattern. Some of them are

ring-shaped, and resemble the present strap-buckles. Ornaments of diverse pattern for attachment to a pendant may occasionally be found, and bronze chains have been discovered with attached pendants at Bond Street and Sycamore Lane. A brass bell, like a mediæval mule-bell, was found at the last locality. A bronze boss or umbo, ornamented with a human figure, was recovered near the Militia Armoury. In levelling the road close to the old London Road Tollgate in 1853, more than one hundred skeletons were unearthed, confusedly interred, and with them coins of Antoninus (138–161 A.D.), portions of circular brooches, and two tubes of bronze were discovered. Possibly we have here the only proof of some local affray or encounter between the conquering and the conquered race. A mask-shaped ornament, with the representation of a grotesque human face, was found at the Newarke Bridge, and a similar one at the back of the Friars. At the Cherry Orchard a bronze bust of Jupiter, one of the household gods, was found. An ornament, intended to represent a cock or hen, was found near the Jewry Wall, and heads of the ox and eagle near the Royal Arcade; so that zoomorphic ornament figures in Roman art as well as in the work of both earlier and later craftsmen in bronze. A small bronze bust of a woman was discovered in Red Cross Street. Rivets or studs, much like modern sleeve-links, also occur. Armlets have been unearthed in Castle Street and elsewhere. A bronze ring fitted with a key was found at Blackfriars, and bronze rings of simple type at other places. A silver ring, fitted with an engraved cornelian stone, and a smelting-pot have been found in Silver Street.

Iron objects are rare, and they are generally confined to implements or weapons. A pair of shears has been found in Leicester, and knives and spear-heads at Rothley, Leicester Cemetery, and Barrow-on-Soar.

Stone was used for spindle-whorls, as in an example found at Butt Close. A stamp of thin stone with the words

C. PAL. GRACILIS, used for stamping preparations of eye-lotion, was discovered at a depth of 10 feet at High Cross Street. A stone bead, perhaps a spindle-whorl, and a stone counter were found at the Royal Arcade.

Wooden objects are of very rare occurrence, only the carved leg of a chair, and a pair of lignite bracelets—the latter found with a human skeleton in Western Road, the former at Rothley—serve to mark the use of this material.

Bone was principally used for the manufacture of pins, needles, skewers, whistles, flutes, knife-handles, counters, dice, combs, spoons, mallet-heads. At Butt Close Lane many years ago a number of bone objects were found above a wattled well, amongst others a whistle, and the teeth of the dog and wild boar pierced for suspension, and Sir A. W. Franks compared them with some found at Settle in Yorkshire. Upon the articles of bone a characteristic ornament, consisting of a series of circles varying in number, with a dot for the centre of each, arranged in geometrical patterns, with or without divisional lines, is found both in Roman articles and in similar bone combs, &c., used by the natives of Central Africa living upon the shores of Lake Tanganyika.

Mortars or querns of millstone grit or syenite are frequently found, perhaps more often outside the town of Leicester than within the presumed boundary of the Roman town.

Coffins and a cist of lead of Roman age similar to the modern shell have been found, and others of stone, on the site of Roman Leicester.

Turning to the other settlements or stations in the surrounding country districts, we see clearly that the more important ones are more or less naturally situated upon the line of the great Roman highways, which latter being doubtless partly Celtic roads, adapted to Roman use, were also on or near the earlier Celtic settlements.

Thus upon the Watling Street there was Tripontium or Caves Inn, Venonæ or High Cross, Manduessedum

(Mancetter) or Witherley, and upon the Gartree Road, Medbourne, whilst north of Ratae there was Verometum or Willoughby.

Close to the latter is Six Hills, where a Roman milestone was found with the words IMP. roughly discernible, and perhaps below we may make out CS with indications below the latter of N or H. But the stone is only rudely smoothed and bears evidence of hasty treatment. With the exception of the last locality, the foregoing sites denote a more or less permanent state of settlement. Both Burton and Camden speak of bulky architectural remains being discovered at High Cross, and many coins have been found there, as elsewhere, but these do not imply occupation. A very fine pavement was discovered at Medbourne in 1721, and at Witherley stone-work is mentioned by Stukeley as having been discovered. At Shawell near Caves Inn, pottery and bricks, &c., were unearthed.

Tessellated pavements or floors of rubble have been discovered at Barrow-on-Soar (where numbers of pieces of pottery, glass, iron lamps, spear-heads, coins, &c., were discovered in 1867 and 1874), and at Nether Broughton, Rothley, Saltby, Sapcote, Westcotes, Wymondham, and doubtless villas existed at these places, as well as at Croft, Hallaton, Kibworth Harcourt (where a cist was found), Market Harborough, Moira (where a paved roadway was found), Mountsorrel, Ratby, Waltham-on-the-Wolds, Wanlip, and Wymondham. There is little evidence of any Roman villa at Burrough-on-the-Hill or at Hungarton. Rothley, Mountsorrel, and Barrow-on-Soar have afforded the best proof of the existence of permanent villas so far, and nearer Leicester the Roman sites at Westcotes and Danett's Hall. At these places the remains found are mainly such as have occurred within the precincts of Ratae itself. But weapons of iron were found at Barrow-on-Soar and at Rothley, and the unique hanging iron lamps at Barrow and the perfect cinerary urns of glass from the same locality are of the greatest interest, as well as the large amphoræ, 2 feet in

Roman Glass Vessels from Barrow-on-Soar.

Portion of Roman Glass Cup from Leicester.

diameter, 2 feet 6 inches in height, and with a capacity of fifteen gallons. All of the objects from the three last-named localities are preserved in the Leicester Museum, where, indeed, all the best of the Roman antiquities from Leicester are represented.

Space does not permit of a further description of these outlying hamlets, nor of the many isolated finds, some of individual interest, scattered up and down the county.

The evidence derived from a study of the later coins found, and the character of many articles of personal ornament of the fourth century or later, indicate that Ratae was occupied by Roman settlers down to the last days of the decline of the Empire, when, in the early days of the fifth century, the legions stationed in Britain had to be withdrawn for the protection of the seat of empire at home.

LEICESTERSHIRE IN ANGLO-SAXON TIMES

By A. R. Horwood

ALTHOUGH there is much reliable historical information preserved in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, the works of Gildas and Bede, and later fragments dealing with the Anglo-Saxon period, yet, in so far as Leicestershire is concerned, we have only a few isolated chronological data relating to these times.

In 547 a section of the Teutonic element in North Germany landed in Bernicia. They appear to have mobilised at the mouth of the Humber, and reached Leicester about 550 A.D., travelling along the Trent and Soar valleys. The various Teutonic peoples who came to England in different waves of immigration were united by a common treaty, and traces of their industry in England are collectively described as Anglo-Saxon, as it is not possible always to assign relics of their handiwork to any particular section of the races that have together combined to consolidate (with later Danish and Norman influence) the Teutonic element in our English nation, its language, and its customs.

When the Heptarchy was formed, Leicestershire was included in Mercia, and Leicestershire was known as Legreceastre, being the principal city in that kingdom, and in 586 Crida was its first Saxon king.

Roman rule had caused British art and civilisation to stagnate—where the people were not Romanised, as they never really were in the rural districts—the same effect

continued under the Saxon occupation for practically one hundred and fifty years after the first Teutonic invasion.

But the introduction of Christianity among the Saxons by missionaries, led by St. Augustine in 597, marks the commencement of a new era, and from that time onward, wherever the new religion replaced the pagan superstitions, progress was made both in the civil and political life of the nation.

Leicestershire in Anglo-Saxon times is known to us almost exclusively from its ecclesiastical history. Thus we find that Christianity was introduced at Repton in 653 when Peada married the daughter of Oswy, King of Northumbria, and in the year 658 a church, the forerunner of St. Margaret's, was said to have been standing in Leicester, as well as a bishop's residence. Whether this be true or not, the kingdom was certainly divided into bishoprics before 680 by Ethelred, who succeeded Wulfhere in 675, and, according to William of Malmesbury, Cuthwin was Bishop of Leicester and Lichfield in 679, being the first bishop, and he was followed in turn by Saxwulfe.

Leicester, after being separated from Lichfield as a bishopric for a while, was reunited in 691, and after another separation was again combined with it in 703. A monastery existed at Breedon in 731, and Tatwine, one of its priests, subsequently became Archbishop of Canterbury.

Ceoldred was the last Bishop of Leicester, and it was in his time that Burhed, King of Mercia, was defeated by the Danes, who had made Repton their first chief stronghold, in 874. Leicester thus became one of the Danish "burghs," a fact possibly perpetuated in the locality Dane[1] Hills in Leicester, and by innumerable hamlets with names ending in *-by*, &c., all over the county. Freeman divided the Danish influence upon

[1] Said also to be a variant of Dune, the hills being composed of a sandstone weathering down to sand.

England into three periods: (*a*) Plunder (789–855); (*b*) Settlement (855–897); (*c*) Political conquest (897–1016). It is certainly to the second period that the Danish places referred to are to be assigned. Leicester was, in fact, attacked by the Danes in 868, and, according to many old writers, we find the walls of the Castle were said to have been added to in 907, and other fortifications were constructed in 914. It should be remarked here that though the history of the county under the Danes does not come immediately under our present scope, yet it must be remembered that the Danes did not replace or exterminate the Anglo-Saxons, but their leaders merely in course of time assumed the kingly office, whilst the two peoples gradually amalgamated.

Leicester, as a royal city, with a Saxon castle, was an important place. Evidence, in fact, of the existence of a mint at Leicester, near the North Bridge, is furnished locally by the finding of a coin of Eadgar (959–975), and in the year 987 silver pennies of Ethelred II. (978–1016) were minted in the town, a specimen of this king's coin, with the obverse inscribed "ÆDELRED REX ANGLO," and the reverse "SPEGEN. M°O. LEIG," being preserved in the Leicester Museum. That the Danes, moreover, long continued to occupy the town is suggested by the discovery of another silver penny of Canute (1016–1035) minted there also, and likewise in the same collection, inscribed "CNVT REX ANGLO" on the obverse side, and on the reverse "LEOFSIGE. ON L. EIECE."

The real history of the Anglo-Saxons, if taken exclusively before their fusion with the native population, and later with the Danes, relates to their early expeditions and settlements in the sixth and seventh centuries. At least our evidences of their handiwork—if we exclude architectural remains—is principally confined to those centuries.

We may refer to some remarks made by Mrs. Fielding Johnson as to the Saxon city and inhabitants, before briefly describing the remains of Anglo-Saxon pagandom

in Leicestershire. After alluding to the early Saxon age of the churches of St. Margaret, St. Mary, St. Nicholas, St. Martin, upon the site of the present later edifices, this author writes:[1]—

"The Anglo-Saxon city, although enclosed within the ancient and massive walls erected by the Romans, and doubtless embellished by many remaining portions of important buildings of the later Roman period, was of a more simple and elementary character than that of its highly civilised predecessors; and its probable appearance has been likened to the large and scattered agricultural villages of a century or two ago. The citizens, who now began to take the name of burgesses, from their burgages or separate little plots of land, dwelt in small thatched or gabled houses, more or less surrounded by trees; each household spun and wove its simple clothing, and the tillage of the ground occupied the time of a large portion of the male inhabitants. The burgesses were allowed to pasture their cows and horses on a space formerly cleared by the Romans on the south side of the town, in the district between our present London and Wigston roads, much of which has remained to this day public property. On the northern and western sides the thick forest still stretched almost to the very gate of the town; and the large herds of swine, which provided the staple animal food of the people, were daily driven to and fro to fatten upon its acorns and rough herbage."

If we had no other source of information as to the former habitation of this part of the country by the Saxons, the data supplied by the place-names would alone be amply sufficient to illustrate their distribution. Though it is difficult to eliminate the influence of the Danish admixture and subsequent fusion with the Saxon peoples, there are numerous evidences of the previous predominance of the latter in the test-words forming suffixes to the names of chiefs or clans, *e.g.* -borough, -cote, -croft, -field, -ford, -ham, -ley, -ton, -well, -worth, &c. Thus we have Burrough, Barrow, Colborough, Loughborough, Market Harborough, Whadborough, denoting settlements upon a hill; Hugglescote, Huncote, Kimcote, Sapcote, Walcote, and Withcote indicate the sites of Saxon huts or farms, near a wood and probably of humble character. A small field is designated by the name Croft, and again by that of Ulverscroft. In the names Glenfield, Marefield, Markfield we see evidence

[1] *Glimpses of Ancient Leicester*, 1906, pp. 35–36.

of clearings having been made by our pioneer forefathers, who at these places felled trees. The passages used by the people of this time across the brooks and streams, &c., are recalled in the names Bottesford, Desford, Scalford, and Stapleford. The formation of a hamlet, farm, or homestead is handed down to us in the names Keyham, Lubbenham, Waltham, Welham, Wykeham, and Wymondham. Bradley, Gumley, Langley, and other places were favoured by the Saxons with these names because they possessed sheltered spots or meadows where the cattle lay. Even if the foregoing and other suffixes were wanting, in the widely prevalent -ton or -ington, of which there are over one hundred instances, we have in Leicestershire ample evidence that at such places as Thurmaston, Humberston, Hungarton, &c., there were either fenced plots of ground or enclosures surrounding a house or farm-house and outbuildings, and later a collection of houses clustered around a chieftain's dwelling. The existence of wells is clearly shown by the names Barnwell, Bitteswell, Caldwell, Eastwell, Holwell, Pickwell, Shawell. The tenancy of upland farms is revealed by the place-names Bagworth, Diseworth, Market Bosworth, and Theddingworth.

We may now turn our attention to some of the actual relics of Anglo-Saxon civilisation in Leicestershire, and of first interest are the remains of weapons, such as the sword, the spear, knives, and shields.

The sword was only worn by horsemen, and was buried exclusively with members of the upper classes. When not found in cemeteries, it may be ascribed to the ceorlas or churls (freemen). For the burial of a sword with a body denoted the rank of a thegn (thane) or eorl (earl). It is unfortunate that the scabbard of wood and parts of the hilt are rarely found attached to the blades. Pommels were often embellished, sometimes with a cross; they are seldom dug up in excavations. Occasionally the blade was further ornamented with runic characters and interlaced serpents. Swords have been discovered locally at Westcotes, Cold Newton, between Twyford and Burrough Hill, Lowesby,

Melton Mowbray, and at Rye Hill Close, Glen Parva, near Barkby, Queniborough, Stapleford (where part of a pommel was found), and another fragment, possibly the chape of a sword, was discovered at Bensford Bridge.

The spear was carried by the freemen—when of age—and this and the javelins or *frameas* constituted the national arms of the Saxons. They are often found in barrows, and locally have been obtained at Glen Parva, Burrough-on-the-Hill, and between there and Twyford, Cold Newton, Melton Mowbray, Bensford Bridge near Barkby, Sysonby, Stapleford, Saxby, Baggrave, near Keyham, and Medbourne. The number of localities is considerable, and indicates a wider and more general use of the spear than the sword.

Iron knives are frequently found, being of two kinds, the large knife (scramasaxe) and the small knife. The former was probably used by the Saxons at the feast of Reconciliation, when at a signal from Hengist the Britons were murdered on a wholesale scale in cold blood. The large knife is only found in the graves of men, but the smaller one indifferently in the graves of men, women, and children. Though generally simple, these knives were sometimes ornamented with a band of damascene work, or with the runic alphabet, the letters being inlaid with copper and silver. Knives have been dug up in Anglo-Saxon cemeteries at Melton Mowbray and at Burrough-on-the Hill, at Bensford Bridge and Rothley.

No traces of a battle-axe or *francisca*, which would denote Frankish ownership, have been discovered, and they are rarely unearthed in other districts.

An arrow-head was discovered in a gravel-pit at Cold Newton, near Lowesby, but beyond this instance there is no evidence of the use of the bow and arrow in this district. But as it was employed in the chase there can be little doubt that long before the Norman Conquest it had become a national weapon.

The shield is all the defensive armour we find in graves. In the poem on Beowulf the wooden portion was called *lind*,

to denote that it was made of the linden-tree or lime. We only find traces, however, of the iron umbo or boss, which served as a guard for the hand and was grasped by means of a handle fixed across the inner hollow portion. The umbo had also a sharp point externally, and the shield was doubtless employed in hand-to-hand fighting. The Saxons were accustomed to utter loud war-cries, and used the hollow of the umbo to produce a reverberating sound. The umboes of these shields have been discovered at Melton Mowbray, between Twyford and Burrough-on-the-Hill, Bensford Bridge, at Churchgate (where one was found covering the top of an urn), Stapleford, and Baggrave.

The fibulæ or brooches found in Anglo-Saxon interments are of great interest, and often valuable as a means of determining the age of the burials. They differ considerably from Roman fibulæ, especially in North England. There is indeed a great variety of form and delicacy of workmanship in these ornaments. By a careful study of their details one can discern a concentration of certain types in particular districts, indicating the colonisation of different areas by distinct sub-tribes or families. Thus the cruciform[1] variety is characteristic of the Midland Counties, and confined to England, though the original conception of this type we owe to Sweden ; other types are the square-headed fibulæ, and the annular and penannular fibulæ. The remaining types are not generally found in this district, with the exception of one (or two) circular fibulæ. A good example of the cruciform type—the first one discovered in Britain—was found at Rothley Temple, and was figured by Akerman.[2] It was plated with gold and silver, and exhibited in its decoration a type of art belonging to the late period of decadence in the representation of animals, their heads being of very crude conception and workmanship. Another cruciform (or

[1] What we (in England) call cruciform is the square-headed Norwegian type in many cases, *i.e.* it has a cruciform lower portion.

[2] *Remains of Anglo-Saxon Pagandom*, Pl. XX. Fig. 2.

From Billesdon. From Rothley Temple.

ANGLO-SAXON FIBULÆ.

ANGLO-SAXON PERIOD.

Portions of Bucket with fragments of the Wooden Staves from Twyford.

"long"[1]) example was found here in 1791, and a square-headed variety was discovered in 1896, which belong to a type dating from about 600 A.D. Of the "long" (Norwegian) type (Scandinavian cruciform) are examples from Stapleford, Saxby, and Beeby, which date from the last quarter of the sixth century. Others have been found at Glen Parva (see Plate).

A beautiful specimen of the square-headed variety from Billesdon (now in Leicester Museum) (see Plate), which is bronze-gilt, from its less fanciful ornamentation may be assigned to the middle of the sixth century. This brooch and another from Ingarsby, also of the square-headed variety, are figured by Akerman,[2] the latter being studded with stones, blue garnets and glass; and as the attempt to represent zoomorphic forms is decidedly inferior to that in the Billesdon example, it may be regarded as later or of early seventh-century date.

Of true square-headed fibulæ a number of examples have occurred, notably at Bensford Bridge, Westcotes, Great Wigston, Glen Parva (belonging to the first half of the sixth century), and Stapleford. The Stapleford brooches are of South German or Baltic type (*circ.* 600).

The square-headed fibulæ are commoner in the Midlands, and rarely found elsewhere. Wylie thought they indicated the military rank or social position of the wearer, but we have no evidence in support of such a theory. They appear to have been cast in one piece, and the incised ornament was then added to the original casting; hence upon a uniformly common base we find diversity of ornament in the incised decoration, due to local influence, and it is possible to trace an unbroken link of evolution in the series found in the eastern portion of Leicestershire, where remains of Saxon art and industry have been discovered at the above-mentioned and some few other localities.

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[1] This example suggests that this type was the precursor of the "long" type.

[2] *Op. cit.*, Pl. XVI.

The annular fibulæ consist of a flat ring into which it may be assumed that the folds of the dress were inserted, the acus or pin, crossing the entire width of the brooch, serving to fasten it neatly and securely. A number of these have been discovered in Leicestershire, as at Bensford Bridge, and in Leicester itself at Butt Close and High Cross Street, whilst eastwards of the river Soar other examples have been unearthed at Saxby, where numerous Saxon relics were turned up, and also along with Celtic objects at Twyford. A tastefully ornate example found by a labourer in a gravel-pit at Husband's Bosworth, together with human remains, is figured by Akerman. Upon a circular silver base two gold plates are riveted, decorated with filigree work, and united by loops of gold wire. In four sockets surrounded by an ornament of cable pattern are bosses of ivory with a garnet in the centre of each. These annular fibulæ often occur in pairs.

Of the penannular fibulæ examples have been found at Bensford Bridge and at Leicester.

Of circular fibulæ, which are chiefly confined to the South of England, we have possibly an example in a round gold boss, set with garnets in quadrants and in a ring around the latter, found at Wibtoft on the Watling Street, and southern border of the county.

The numerous examples of these ornaments that have been found clearly show that the Anglo-Saxons were a highly civilised people with an inventive genius of their own.

Other articles of the toilet and fastenings for the dress, or ornaments, are illustrated from local finds by the occurrence of toilet articles (tooth-picks, &c.) at Butt Close, Leicester, and of tweezers, as at Stapleford, Saxby, and Bensford Bridge. Amongst the many objects found at Great Wigston was an article, universally rare in Britain, in the shape of a bronze pin, used doubtless for the hair, and bronze rings were unearthed at Bensford Bridge, Glen Parva, near Wigston, and near Melton at Sysonby. A

clasp was found between Keyham and Hungarton, and another at Bensford Bridge, and two silver bars forming a clasp came from between Twyford and Burrough-on-the-Hill. Buckles have been discovered in excavations at Barkby, Sysonby, and Stapleford, and silver dress-fasteners, coils of metal in the form of "hooks and eyes," at Twyford (specimens of which are in Leicester Museum), and at Beeby. At Stapleford a hollow metal bead was amongst the objects found.

Cloisonné jewellery superseded Roman enamel work after the latter art began to decay with the deliverance of a great part of Western Europe from Roman domination by the northern Huns and Goths. The application of enamel to metal work was replaced by the setting of stones in gold in delicate *cloisons*, and a new era of the goldsmith's art was inaugurated. This choice variation of ornament was assimilated by the Goths in the early centuries of the Christian era, and was doubtless of Scythian origin, coming to Western Europe through Russia, Hungary, Switzerland, Lombardy, Spain, and France, and was finally introduced into Kent. The stones used are, in fact, themselves of eastern origin. Though we have no examples of the occurrence of this type of jewellery in Leicestershire —the Wibtoft jewel being purely enamelled—other specimens of circular brooches of early type set with stones have been found at Bensford Bridge and twelve feet below the surface at Conduit Street, the latter being oval in shape, with a bronze catch and setting for the stone of coloured glass.

Somewhat doubtfully assigned to a former use as chatelaines, girdle-hangers, or fasteners, are certain objects found in pairs, which have so far not been discovered either on the Continent or in Kent. In Leicestershire examples of these have been found at Great Wigston and in close proximity at Glen Parva, as well as at Saxby; and a curiously-carved object in bone, found in High Cross Street, reminiscent of the type of art prevailing during the

Carlovingian Renaissance, may be a girdle-end. The handle of a knife was found at Glen Parva, and at Medbourne portions of a bone handle with silver ornament.

That the Anglo-Saxons were not without well-made utensils for domestic use is shown by the local discovery of portions of buckets with bronze hoops and wooden staves at Leicester, Baggrave near South Croxton, Twyford, in the same district, and at Melton Mowbray, the last being similar to the one found at Taplow, assigned to the year 620. These buckets were perhaps used for serving mead at the Saxon banquets.

Escutcheons of bronze bowls, now in Leicester Museum, also formed part of the Twyford find, and portions of others have been found at Barkby and Tugby. The purpose served by these objects is not known.

Great Wigston furnishes the only evidence of the local use of horse-trappings, a portion of a bit being one of the objects obtained when the great find described by Nichols was made there in 1795.

Beads of both amber and glass, &c., and of various colours, size, and shape, were held in great estimation by our Anglo-Saxon forefathers. It is often difficult to distinguish these from Roman beads, and the latter occur in undoubted Saxon interments. They are seldom found in the graves of men. Doubtless they were used as ornaments and talismans, as a protection to the wearer against danger or even witchcraft. A curious bead of black glass comes from the Jewry Wall, but may well be Roman. A string of twenty-eight was found at Glen Parva, another of seventy-one at Beeby. Others have been collected in excavations at Melton Mowbray, Stapleford, Saxby, between Twyford and Burrough-on-the-Hill, and at Baggrave and Shackerstone. Some of these were used, doubtless, as spindle-whorls, like a crystal ball, faceted and perforated, which was found at Glen Parva. Sometimes these crystal balls were employed for occult purposes, just as crystal-gazing is practised to-day; in other cases they were worn

Anglo-Saxon Relics from Glen Parva.

as talismans and attached to helmets, when they were held to have the power of deadening a blow, or, like the "Witch stone" of Wymeswold, as a *mascot* of general assistance to the owner. It is probable that those used for divination were not perforated.

According to Bede, the art of glass-making was almost entirely forgotten in England by 680, and Anglo-Saxon glass is very rarely found in any quantity, only one example being known from Leicestershire—part of a tumbler discovered at Glen Parva. As Saxon glass was lighter and more fragile than Roman glass, it was strengthened by threads or bands of relief, laid on as slip to the outer surface in wavy spirals.

Of architectural remains little can be said. Part of the tower of St. Nicholas Church is thought to be Saxon. The friezes at Breedon, too, have been assigned to the eighth or ninth century.

Four headstones to graves, with runic inscriptions on both sides, have been found at Thurnby, which are similar to those found at Adel in Yorkshire, but their history has yet to be written.

Some of the stone coffins found up and down the county, as at Waltham, on the site of Leicester Infirmary, Holwell, Hallaton, and elsewhere, are of Saxon age. One found at Elmesthorpe contained human bones and those of a dog, and measured seven feet in length.

On a lid found at Little Dalby a Lombardic inscription occurs.

The Saxon pottery appears to have been principally utilised for purposes of cremation. The types met with in mid Britain closely resemble North German ware, made in Schleswig and Denmark, &c. Though the Christian Saxons doubtless discontinued the practice of cremating their dead, yet both burnt and unburnt burials are found side by side as in earlier interments. The urns were of dark, black clay, potted by hand and rudely fired. Simple indented lines and points serve to give these primitive pots a characteristic ornament easily distinguishable from other

types. This decoration was effected by means of a pointed stick, and the raised lines by pressure with the thumb, and then they were smoothed by the flat side of the same bit of wood before being baked.

Urns have been found in Leicestershire at a number of localities, *e.g.* Bensford Bridge (where a well-baked highly-ornamented form with a narrow neck was found), Westcotes, Churchgate (Court A), Belgrave Gate, Kirkdale Close, Glen Parva (with skeleton), Barkby, Syston, Melton, Stapleford, Rothley Temple, Loughborough (with burnt bones)—a shouldered variety with three indented concentric lines—and between Twyford and Burrough-on-the-Hill.

Older broken sherds of pottery were often thrown into a grave, and are found mixed with earth, &c., in tumuli of Anglo-Saxon origin. Bones and teeth of mammals, &c., found in these mounds come from beasts slain and hung upon stakes above, and doubtless we have here a relic of the survival of pagan sacrifices. There is, at any rate, evidence of the existence of many tumuli in Leicestershire at the localities already mentioned, and others still await exploration. An examination of the map shows that the Anglo-Saxons were most thickly distributed in the country to the east of the Soar, where numerous hills exist, some of which still bear the Saxon name now rendered Barrow (Beorh, Beorg, or Bearw), and in the word "bury" we literally recall the method of burial beneath a barrow or mound. The existence of cremation and burial side by side has been cited as evidence that some section of the Teutonic race penetrated Central England before the Jutes settled in Kent, or when Carausius was engaged in attempting to found an empire in the days of Diocletian and Maximianus. There exists no certain proof of the truth of this supposition, but in Leicestershire the foregoing examples amply justify us in regarding the county as definitely settled early in the sixth century.

We may conclude this summary of the evidence of

Anglo-Saxon settlement in Leicestershire by a quotation from the graphic Saxon poem celebrating the deeds of Beowulf, in which instructions are given as to the disposal of his body after death in the following terms :—

" Command the war-chiefs
to make a mound
bright after the funeral fire,
upon the nose of the promontory ;
which shall for a memorial
to my people
rise high aloft
on Hronesness ;
that the sea-sailors
may afterwards call it
Beowulf's barrow,
when the Brentings [1]
over the darkness of the floods
shall sail afar."

[1] These people of northern fame are perpetuated locally in the name Brentingby, where they may have settled, and also in the name Bruntingthorpe, indicating the settlements of the Danish Brands.

THE GREYS OF GROBY AND BRADGATE

By The Editor [1]

A DRIVE of four and a half miles from Leicester along the Ashby-de-la-Zouch road brings us to the picturesque village of Groby, now principally supported by the quarries. Fifty years ago it resounded to the click of the stocking frame, but this industry has left it, in common with many other Leicestershire villages.

The earliest mention we have of Groby is that in the reign of Edward the Confessor certain lands therein were held by Ulfi, from whom is probably derived the name of Ulverscroft. At one time Groby had four parks. Leland speaks of one six miles round, but none of these now remain, unless Bradgate is one. There is, however, a farm, lying one and a half miles north-west of Groby, still called Groby Parks, and an old plan of 1670 shows Groby imparked.

In 1086 this manor, which was of great extent, was held by Hugh de Grentemesnil, a favourite of William I., who, upon the death of that monarch, favoured the claims of the Conqueror's eldest son, Robert Curthose, thus incurring the displeasure of William II., by whom, however, he was pardoned and made High Steward of England. He died in 1094, having a few days before his death taken the habit of a monk of St. Ebrulph's Abbey in Normandy. He built the first castle or keep of Groby near the entrance to

[1] I am indebted to Mr. J. Breedon Everard for kind permission to take what I liked for this sketch from his *Charnwood Forest*.

Manor House, Groby.

the village, as an outpost to his more important residence at Leicester.

Hugh's son, Ivo, also favoured the claims of Robert Curthose, but was less fortunate than his father, for, acting on the interested advice of Robert de Bellamonte, or Beaumont, Count of Mellent, he went on the first Crusade, and died on the way to Jerusalem. His son, Ivo, remained under a cloud, but the fortunes of the family revived in the person of the second Ivo's son, Hugh the Second, often confounded with the first and greater Hugh.

Meanwhile much of the property of the Grentemesnils, including Groby, had been granted by Henry I. to the above Robert Bellamonte, who induced the first Ivo to go on his journey to Jerusalem. He was created Earl of Leicester, and, dying in 1118, left his property to his son Robert le Bossu, second Earl of Leicester, who was succeeded in 1168 by his son Robert de Blanchesmains, third Earl of Leicester.

This Robert married Petronilla, daughter of the second Hugh de Grentemesnil, and thus consolidated the interests of the two families; but, rebelling against Henry II., he had his castle of Groby destroyed, and nothing now remains except the mound on which it stood. He died in 1189, having been pardoned by Henry II., and his widow built the great nave of St. Mary de Pratis, Leicester. Their son, Robert Fitz Parnell, became fourth Earl of Leicester, but, dying without issue, his inheritance went to his two sisters, Amicia, who married Simon de Montfort, made fifth Earl of Leicester in right of his wife, but with whom we have here no further interest; and Margaret, who married Saiher de Quincy, Earl of Winchester, thus finally separating Groby from Leicester. This Saiher de Quincy, made Baron of Groby in right of his wife, went on the Crusades, and died at Acre in 1219, leaving directions for his heart to be burned and the ashes buried at Garendon. His wife, Margaret, was also buried at Garendon.

Their son, Roger de Quincy, Earl of Winchester and

Lord of Groby, who died in 1264 and was also buried at Garendon, left three daughters: Margaret, who married William de Ferrers, Earl of Ferrers and Derby, whose fortunes we shall now follow at Groby; Helen, who married Alan la Zouche, of Ashby; and Elizabeth, who married Alexander Comyn, Earl of Buchan.

William de Ferrers, the second son of Margaret and the Earl of Derby, became owner of Groby by gift from his mother, and probably began the second house or castle at Groby, the owners of the manor, after the destruction of the first castle by Henry II., having residences elsewhere. This house would be added to by the succeeding Barons Ferrers, of Groby, who remained in possession of the manor until 1445, in which year died William de Ferrers, the fifth Lord Ferrers of Groby.

Henry, the son of William, the sixth Lord, died during his father's life, having married Isabella, daughter of Thomas Mowbray, Duke of Norfolk, leaving an only daughter, Elizabeth, who carried the manor, by marriage with Sir Edward de Grey, into the Grey family, with whom it still remains.

Some idea of the state of the roads in the fifteenth century may be gathered from the fact that Sir Edward Grey obtained a special dispensation from the Archbishop of Canterbury in 1446 to have his expected child christened in the chapel of his own manor-house of Groby, because of its great distance from the parish church and the "foulness of the ways thereto,"—the parish church being Ratby, one mile away.

Sir Edward de Grey was summoned to Parliament as Lord Ferrers of Groby, and died in 1458, leaving a son, Sir John Grey, who married the celebrated Elizabeth Woodville, daughter of the Duchess of Bedford by her second husband, Sir Richard Woodville, or Widvile, of Grafton, in Northamptonshire.

Elizabeth and her husband, Sir John Grey, lived together about nine years, the last two or three as owners

of Groby and the Ferrers' house there ; of this house only slight ruins behind the present house now remain. Sir John Grey was slain, fighting on the Lancastrian side, at St. Albans in 1461, and his widow returned to her father's house in Northamptonshire, taking her two sons, Thomas and Richard Grey. With the death of her husband Elizabeth's direct connection with Groby ceased. How she subsequently became the Queen of Edward IV. in 1464 is a matter of English history. She died in 1492, and was buried beside Edward IV. in St. George's Chapel, Windsor.

Her eldest son, Sir Thomas Grey, was created Earl of Huntingdon and first Marquis of Dorset by his stepfather, Edward IV. He was an early patron of Wolsey, under whose charge he placed three of his sons, afterwards presenting him to the rectory of Limington in Somerset. He is described by Polydore Vergil as "*Vir bonus et prudens.*" He began new buildings at Groby, and Leland writes : "He began and erectid the Fundation and Waulles of a greate Gate house of Brike and a Tour, but that was lefte half on finish'd of hym, and so it stondith yet. This Lorde Thomas erectid also and almost finished ij Toures of Brike in the Fronte of the House as respondent on eche side to the Gate house." Part of this building now remains, and is used as a farm-house. It is doubtful whether Thomas, the first Marquis, ever finished it, as he was attracted by the more beautiful site at Bradgate, where he began a large mansion, but, on his death in 1501, this house was completed by his son Thomas, second Marquis of Dorset, who died in 1530.[1] This latter was buried in the collegiate church of Astley. Seventy-eight years later the vault was opened, when his body was found well preserved : "Six foote, wanting foure inches, his haire yellow, his face broad."[2]

[1] According to Leland, the hall of the mansion had come from Sutton Coldfield, where "Nevyll Erle of Warwike made as some say a praty hawle of tymber. . . . The hall selfe was after sett up at Broadgate the Marques of Dorsetts house by Leicester and there yet standeth."

[2] Burton, *Description of Leicestershire.*

Groby would still probably be used as a dower-house, the large field between the house and the Newtown road being yet called "the dowery." As a dower-house, it may have been visited by another Queen, the "nine days' Queen of England," but its interest declined, and we must follow the Greys to Bradgate, where they now took up their residence.

Leaving Groby by the Newtown Linford road, and passing part of the large quarries, we reach Groby Pool, an interesting sheet of water, having a small island in the middle and the Pool House on the south bank. The abbot and monks of St. Mary de Pratis, Leicester, enjoyed the privilege of fishing here four stated days in each year.

Close to the Pool, and also about three-quarters of a mile further along the road, are private entrances to the modern Bradgate House, built about 1854 by the seventh Earl of Stamford, and last Earl of Stamford and Warrington. In this he incorporated the old house called Steward's Hay, used for many years as a shooting-box after the destruction of the house. It was also used as the steward's residence.

Probably the most beautiful spot in the neighbourhood of Leicester is Bradgate Park, whose peculiar charm is largely due to the fact that the whole of it still remains in practically its natural state with its rugged syenite hills covered with bracken, its trees, principally venerable oaks, interspersed singly and in groups. Herds of deer roam about the lower ground, assisting to complete the woodland picture. The brook, coming from Ulverscroft, which flows through Newtown Linford and then into the Park, formed a valley which goes by the name of Little Matlock. A number of fish-ponds have been formed in this valley by building weirs over which the water flows, adding much to the beauty of the scene.

Hallgates is the eastern and was at one time the principal entrance to the Park. About midway between

Newtown and Hallgates we pass the ruins, which will shortly claim our attention.

There is no record of the date of the enclosure of this Park, but it was part of the large manor of Groby, granted at the Conquest to Hugh de Grentemesnil, and may have been enclosed before that time. It was certainly enclosed before 1247, as an agreement of that date, made between Roger de Quincy and Roger de Somery, makes regulation for their mutual hunting in Charnwood Forest and Bradgate Park.

We must now return to all that is left of the stately house begun by the first and finished by the second Marquis of Dorset early in the sixteenth century. Thomas second Marquis of Dorset, was succeeded in 1530 by his son, Henry Grey, third Marquis of Dorset, who married, after buying off a previous betrothal, Frances, eldest daughter of Charles Brandon, Duke of Suffolk, by Mary, daughter of Henry VII. He was created Duke of Suffolk in 1551, probably as a compliment to his wife Frances, after the death of her father. He had three daughters—Lady Jane, Lady Katherine, and Lady Mary Grey, to all of whom their connection with royalty proved a curse. It is an interesting fact that they were the great-great-grand-daughters, through both father and mother, of Elizabeth Woodville.

Bradgate Park must always be associated with Lady Jane Grey—"Cette pauvre reine qui s'en peut dire de la fève," as Noailles wrote to his master—a Twelfth Night queen.

Born at Bradgate in October 1537, she spent the greater part of her short and not very happy life at this place. It was the centre of strong and militant Protestantism. Lady Jane was used as a pawn in the dangerous game her father and others were playing. Married against her inclination in May 1553, before she was sixteen years old, to Lord Guilford Dudley, the Duke of Northumberland's fourth son, she was proclaimed Queen on the 9th of July 1553, and on the 12th of February 1554 was with her husband

beheaded, and buried in the Church of St. Peter ad Vincula within the Tower.

But little is known of Lady Jane's life at Bradgate. Her tutor was Aylmer, afterwards Bishop of London, and her testimony to his merits, as one who taught her "gently, so pleasantly, and with such fair allurements of learning," is preserved in the well-known words of Ascham, though in later life his arbitrary and unconciliating disposition came frequently into unpleasing prominence. Under the heading of "What harm over-much fear bringeth to children," in *The Schoolmaster*, Ascham writes :—

"And one example, whether love or fear doth work more in a child for virtue and learning, I will gladly report: which may be heard with some pleasure, followed with more profit. Before I went into Germany I came to Broadgate in Leicestershire, to take my leave of that noble Lady Jane Grey, to whom I was much beholding. Her parents, the Duke and the Duchess, with all their household, were hunting in the park. I found her in her chamber reading 'Phaedon Platonis' in Greek, and that with as much delight as some gentlemen would read a merry tale in Bocase. After salutation and duty done, with some other talk, I asked her why she would lose such pastime in the park? Smiling she answered me, 'I wist all their sport in the park is but a shadow to that pleasure that I find in Plato. Alas! good folk, they never felt what true pleasure meant.' 'And how came you, madam,' quoth I, 'to this deep knowledge of pleasure, and what did chiefly allure you unto it, seeing, not many women but very few men, have attained thereunto?' 'I will tell you,' quoth she, 'and tell you a truth which, perchance ye will marvel at. One of the greatest benefits that ever God gave me is that He sent me so sharp and severe parents, and so gentle a schoolmaster. For when I am in presence either of father or mother, whether I speak, keep silence, sit, stand, or go, eat, drink, be merry or sad, be sewing, playing, dancing, or doing anything else, I must do it, as it were, in such weight, measure, and number, even so perfectly as God made the world, or else I am so sharply taunted, so cruelly threatened, yea, presently sometimes with pinches, nips and bobs, and other ways which I will not name for the honour I bear them, so without measure misordered, that I think myself in hell till time come that I must go to M. Elmer, who teacheth me so gently, so pleasantly, with such fair allurements to learning, that I think all the time nothing whilst I am with him. And when I am called from him I fall on weeping, because whatsoever I do else but learning is full of grief, trouble, fear, and whole misliking unto me. And thus my book hath been so much my pleasure, and bringeth daily to me more pleasure and more, that in respect of it, all other pleasures, in very deed, be but trifles and troubles unto me.' I remember this talk gladly, both because it is so worthy of memory, and because it was the last talk that ever I had, and the last time that ever I saw that noble and worthy lady."

"She had the innocency of childhood," writes Fuller, "the beauty of youth, the solidity of middle, the gravity of old age, the birth of a princess, the learning of a clerk, the life of a saint."

On her execution it is said that the foresters topped all the oaks in the park.

After the unsuccessful attempt to place his eldest daughter on the throne, Henry Grey, Duke of Suffolk, was attainted and beheaded in 1554, eleven days after Lady Jane Grey had suffered the same fate, and the whole of his great estates passed to the Crown.

Lord John Grey, another brother of Suffolk, whose life was spared on the intercession of his wife in the general ruin that overtook the family in Queen Mary's reign, had granted to him a small estate at Pirgo, in Essex, where his niece Katherine, the second of the ill-fated daughters of the Duke of Suffolk, with her youngest child was committed to his care by Queen Elizabeth. She had offended the Queen by secretly marrying for her second husband the Earl of Hertford, and died at the early age of twenty-eight in 1567.

Mary, the youngest of the sisters, also incurred the displeasure of the Queen by marrying Thomas Keys, of Kent, the Queen's sergeant porter. The matter was ludicrous, because Lady Mary Grey was almost a dwarf, and Keys, who had been chosen for his office for his size, was of heroic proportions. There was, furthermore, the disparity of age and station. Keys had been twenty-two years at Court, and was a widower with several children. Elizabeth showed her anger by sending Keys to the Fleet, where he lived several years, and died at Lewisham in 1571; while Lady Mary was despatched to the care of William Hawtrey, at Chequers, in Buckinghamshire. After the death of Keys, his widow, now harmless to the Queen, was allowed to leave custody, and died in 1578.

Lord John Grey was compelled to remain at Pirgo, where he died in 1564. Cecil writes, that "his friends

report that he died of thought, but his gout was enough to have ended his life." He left a son, Sir Henry Grey, Lord Bonville and Harrington, who recovered the Barony of Groby by letters patent, took up his residence at Bradgate, and died in 1614, having previously purchased from another John Grey the estates of Enville in Staffordshire. It will be remembered that the manor of Whittington and Enville came by marriage to Robert Grey, a younger brother of Sir Edward Grey, of Groby. The Enville property passed through four generations of Greys, from Robert who married it to John who sold it.

Sir Henry had a numerous family, but outlived his eldest son, Sir John Grey, who died in 1611, and was buried at Broughton Astley, county Leicester, leaving a son, Henry Grey, who succeeded his grandfather in 1614 as second Baron Grey of Groby, Baron Bonville and Harrington. Henry Grey married Anne, daughter of William Cecil, Lord Burghley, Earl of Exeter, was created first Earl of Stamford in 1628, died in 1673, and was buried with his wife at Bradgate, where they have a fine monument. The first Earl had a large family, and upon the death of his grandson Thomas in direct descent, the title and estates went to another grandson, Harry Grey.

Henry, first Earl of Stamford, came perilously near the fate of some of his ancestors, having joined the Parliamentary forces in the Civil War, urged thereto by his eldest son, Thomas, known as Lord Grey, who was a strenuous, almost fanatical, supporter of the same side, and signed the warrant for the execution of the King. The latter was probably, as Clarendon says, a man of no eminent parts, but useful on account of his wealth and local influence. Mrs. Hutchinson speaks of his credulous good nature, and he seems to have been a favourite of Essex.

During the Civil War, Prince Rupert, in 1642, raided the Bradgate estates, and took and plundered Bradgate House.

The regicide did not succeed to the title or estates,

dying in 1657 during his father's life; but left a son, Thomas Grey, who succeeded his grandfather as second Earl of Stamford in 1673. He incurred the anger of James II., and was arrested at Bradgate in 1685, but was soon afterwards included in the general pardon.

During this Earl's occupation in 1694, the house was set on fire; tradition says by his wife, Elizabeth, daughter of Sir Daniel Harvey of Combe House, Surrey. "It is said she set it on fire, or caused it to be set on fire, at the instigation of her sister, who lived in London," writes Throsby. "The story is thus told. Some time after the Earl had married, he brought his lady to his seat at Bradgate. Her sister wrote to her, desiring to know how she liked her habitation and the country she was in. The Countess wrote for answer that 'the house was tolerable, that the country was a forest, and the inhabitants all brutes.' The sister, in consequence, by letter desired her 'to set fire to the house, and run away by the light of it.' The former part of the request, it is said, she immediately put into practice." Only a small part of the house was injured, but the attempt was sufficient to cause a separation between the wife and husband, who, about 1695, married Mary, daughter of Joseph Maynard, Esq., and in 1696 entertained William III. at Bradgate. Here he was buried in 1719, and his widow in 1722. The second Earl had four children, but they all died young, and the estates and titles descended to his cousin, Harry Grey, third Earl of Stamford.

This slight change in the direct descent may have been the reason why Bradgate lost its charm as a residence, there being no record that the third Earl ever lived at this place; and it seems certain that on his death in 1739, his fourth son, Harry Grey, who succeeded as fourth Earl, had permanently taken up his residence at Enville, and was buried there in 1768.

Nichols, writing about 1804, states that he had talked with a man aged eighty-one, living at Ansty, who

remembered, as a boy, seeing the house at Bradgate entire; but this evidence need not carry us much later than 1730, and our historian is silent as to the cause of its destruction. He gives a sketch of Bradgate in its perfect state as it was in 1721, and several views of the ruins.

Throsby also gives a print of it in his *Views in Leicestershire*, 1789, as a ruin, and speaks of it as a ruin, and says that the chapel a few years back was "in a shameful state of disorder." He also states that "near the ruin the Earl of Stamford keeps a good pack of foxhounds and a stud of hunters." This would probably be in the stables, built for the visit of William III., but now destroyed. Whether Throsby is correct in stating that it was destroyed by fire, or whether at first it only suffered by the hand of time and neglect, it is to be feared that the usual formula would apply, "turned into a quarry." Fortunately, the destroyers were stopped when they began to take off the chapel roof, and this small part still remains. A few walls and foundations, compared with Nichols' view, served to show that the great hall stood near the centre, with the bay window, built for the reception of William III., to the north-east side. The kitchens were on the west facing the most beautiful view; the chapel to the east, and the newer family buildings partly to the east and partly to the north of the chapel. Until the gable and chimney-stalk fell in 1896, the ruins presented an appearance similar to one of Nichols' views taken about one hundred years earlier. The walled-in garden and orchard, where can be traced the outline of the plaisance and the moat, and in which is a fish-pond and a fine avenue of Spanish chestnuts, still remain on the north and east sides of the ruins.

Nearly a mile to the north-west of the ruins is the eminence known as "Old John," which commands beautiful views upon all sides and is well worth the climb. The tower on the top was built by the fifth Earl, tradition says, as a memorial to an old retainer of the family, who was killed by the fall of a pole set up as part of a bonfire, on

Ruins of Bradgate House.

the coming of age of one of the Stamford family—probably the eldest son of the fifth Earl in 1786. Nichols mentions the building of the tower, but is silent as to the tradition.

There is little more to record of Bradgate, but we have so long followed the fortunes of the families connected with it and Groby, that a few words bringing those fortunes down to the present time may be of interest.

Harry Grey, fourth Earl of Stamford, Baron Grey of Groby, Baron Bonville and Harrington, who succeeded in 1739, married Mary, only daughter of George Booth, second Earl of Warrington, and was buried at Enville in 1768.

His eldest son, George Harry Grey, was born in 1737, succeeded as fifth Earl of Stamford, and was created Baron de la Mer of Dunham Massey and Earl of Warrington in 1796. He died in 1819, and was succeeded by his eldest son, George Harry Grey, sixth Earl, born in 1765; married in 1797 to Lady Henrietta Charlotte Elizabeth Charteris, daughter of Lord Elcho. He died in 1845, and was succeeded by his grandson (his eldest son, George Harry Grey, born 1802, having predeceased him in 1835), George Harry Grey, seventh Earl, born in 1827 of his wife, Lady Katherine Charteris, daughter of Francis, sixth Earl of Wemyss.

The seventh Earl was twice married, but left no issue; and at his death in 1883, the titles of Earl of Warrington and Baron de la Mer of Dunham Massey became extinct.

Under the will of the seventh Earl, all his estates in Leicestershire, Staffordshire, and Cheshire were left to his widow for life, and upon her death in 1905 her relations retained the Staffordshire estates with Enville.

The Leicestershire estates were settled upon his niece, Katherine Henrietta Venezia Duncombe, of Sutton Hall, Easingwold, county York, who was to take the name of Grey. She was born in 1847, and in 1869 married Arthur Duncombe, Esq., who has also taken the name of Grey. Mrs. Grey was the only child of the late Lady Henrietta Maria Grey, a sister of the seventh Earl. She was

married in 1846 to Henry John Milbanke, Esq., and died in 1852.

It is a source of congratulation to all lovers of the Forest that the present owner of such a large and interesting part of it, who is also Lady of the manor of Groby, should bear the historic name of Grey, and be a direct descendant of the elder branch.

The Cheshire estates were settled to go with the title of Earl of Stamford, and although the title has now nothing to do with Charnwood Forest, except as to the minor part of Baron Grey of Groby, its story claims a few words.

We have to go back to John Grey, third son of Harry Grey, fourth Earl of Stamford, born in 1743, died in 1802, whose only son, the Rev. Harry Grey, born in 1783, was twice married, and, dying in 1860, left a son, Harry Grey, who was born in 1812, and became eighth Earl on the death of the seventh Earl in 1883. The eighth Earl lived in South Africa, with results that required the assistance of the Committee of Privileges of the House of Lords to settle the succession when he died in 1890.

Under the arrangement made and confirmed in 1892 by the House of Lords, William Grey, born in 1850, son of the Rev. William Grey (who was a younger brother of Harry Grey, the eighth Earl), became the ninth Earl of Stamford.

At the Forest enclosure the Earl of Stamford was awarded 939 acres, the greater part of these being for lands, tithes, and manorial rights appertaining to the manor of Groby, which included Ansty, Bradgate, Cropston, Glenfield, Groby and Ratby. The remainder was for lands and other interests in Breedon, Newtown Linford, Swithland, Thurcaston and Stanton-under-Bardon.

MOUNTSORREL

By E. W. Hensman, M.A. Lond.

MOUNTSORREL, situated on the left bank of the Soar, seven miles from Leicester and four miles from Loughborough, is divided into two parishes, St. Peter's and Christchurch. The former, at the north end of the town, once formed part of the ancient parish of Barrow-on-Soar, and is in the hundred of West Goscote, which belonged in Norman times to the Earls of Chester. The latter, at the south end, carved out of the parish of Rothley, is in East Goscote hundred, and formed part of the domain of the Earls of Leicester. The town consists principally of one main street about a mile in length, with one short street on the east, leading to the Sileby Road, and four short lanes or streets on the west leading up to the granite hills which overlook and command the narrow space between them and the river. On the higher and more rugged and precipitous of these hills once stood the castle whose history is the chief justification for this article.

Nichols and other antiquaries, both before and after him, conjecture that this castle was built by Hugh Lupus, nephew of the Conqueror, about 1080, but no evidence has been adduced in support of the supposition. The first historical mention of the fortress is in an agreement[1] between Ranulph Earl of Chester, one of the most persistent enemies of King Stephen, and Robert Bossu, the second

[1] Cotton MSS. and Harl. MSS. 5805, quoted by Nichols, vol. i. p. 26.

Norman Earl of Leicester, to the following effect:—Earl Ranulph gives to the Earl of Leicester and his heirs the Castle of Montsorrel on condition that the Earl of Leicester shall be bound "to receive the said Ranulph and his family in the borough and bailiwick of Mountsorrel, to war, whenever he listeth, as of his own fee"; if needful for Earl Ranulph, "his body shall be received into the Castle in such sort that the Earl of Leicester shall bear unto him faith (always the faith due to his liege lord excepted);" if the Earl of Leicester is ordered to go against the Earl of Chester with his liege lord to war, he shall not carry with him more than twenty knights; if the Earl or his knights shall capture any of the Earl of Chester's goods, they shall be restored again; moreover, the Earl of Leicester may not "in any case ympeach or hinder the body of the Earl of Chester, except he hath defied him fifteen days before"; and the Earl of Leicester is bound to aid the Earl of Chester against all men, except the Earl of Leicester's liege lord and Earl Simon, *i.e.* Simon Earl of Northampton.

This document, whose date is fixed by Nichols at 1151, is an interesting example of the way in which a powerful baron, in rebellion against his nominal sovereign, could make use of the customary feudal obligations of the day to protect himself against serious hostilities by his immediate neighbours. But it has other points of interest that are not so obvious. The Castle Hill is at the south end of Mountsorrel, and therefore within the domain of the Earl of Leicester. Why, we may ask, should the Earl of Chester make a grant to the Earl of Leicester of a castle standing in the Earl of Leicester's own territory? Had he taken it from him in war, and was now restoring it on terms, or had he built it, with the Earl of Leicester's consent, on the steep rock just within that Earl's boundary, to command the narrow way between the Forest of Charnwood and the river against their common enemies and to stop the northward

advance of Stephen through the Midland counties?[1] History does not enable us to answer with certainty, but, in default of evidence to the contrary, we must, I think, agree that it is much more probable that Mountsorrel was one of the many adulterine castles built by the barons of Stephen's day than that it was built during the reign of the Conqueror. Again, on the south bank of the Loire, a little below its junction with the Vienne, and where the road from Saumur turns south to Fontevrault—the burial-place of Henry II., his wife Eleanor, Richard Cœur-de-Lion, and John's queen, Isabella—there stands a village called Montsoreau. The roadway, like that of our own Mountsorrel, passes between the river and a cliff, upon which also stood a castle, whose owners, even to the time of Richelieu,[2] continued to exact toll from the voyagers up and down the Loire and Vienne and to plunder those who travelled along the road. Its walls were massively built of the fine stone of the neighbourhood, its area was extensive, and some idea of its strength may still be formed from the loopholed front, supported by strong flanking towers, which still frowns ominously over the road and river. In 1151, the very year of the agreement between Ranulph of Chester and Robert Bossu, Montsoreau was the scene of civil strife. Geoffrey, brother of Henry of Anjou, had made common cause with Stephen, and had seized certain strongholds in central France. "But about the end of the month of August," says Matthew Paris, "the duke, having left soldiers to guard Normandy, went to Anjou

[1] The opening clause of the agreement speaks of "the final peace and concord that was agreed upon and devised of" the two Earls, so that they had probably been at war with each other. It is certain that they were in opposite political camps, for we find from Holinshed that whilst the Earl of Chester, in 1151, was actively engaged for Henry of Anjou, his "liege lord," the Earl of Leicester, had not yet broken with his "liege lord," Stephen. Earl Robert's allegiance was, however, somewhat strained, and probably was but half-hearted at the best, for his brother, "Earle Waleran de Mellent," had been for some years an open enemy of Stephen, and at the time of this agreement was being besieged in his castle of Worcester. In the next year, 1152, the Earl of Leicester craftily brought about the raising of the siege, and we find him also, shortly afterwards, in open alliance with the Angevin party.

[2] See T. A. Cook's *Old Touraine.*

and besieged the castle of Montsoreau (*castrum Montis Sorelli*), where, hemming in the defenders by blockading the ridge (*obsidione jugi coarctans inclusos*), he captured the place, and with it William, the governor of the castle, who was upholding the cause of his brother (Geoffrey), with many other soldiers. By this disaster also his brother Geoffrey was compelled to make peace with him." The similarity in the names and positions of the two castles, Montsoreau and Mountsorrel, and the part they played in the wars of Stephen and Henry, obviously suggest a close connection between the two; when we remember, too, the relations of the Earls of Leicester and Chester with each other and King Stephen, it is difficult to resist the conclusion that the English castle was built by Stephen's enemies in imitation of the French one and named after it. We may, in any case, safely reject as puerile guesswork the derivations—Mount Soar Hill, the hill of the sorrel-coloured rock, and so forth—suggested by Camden and other early antiquaries.

After the murder of Beckett, Robert Blanchmaines, the third Norman Earl of Leicester, joined Queen Eleanor and her sons against her husband, Henry II. His castle of Leicester was taken and the town itself sacked in 1173 by Richard de Lucy, the King's Justiciar. In the next year, after completing his penance for the murder of Beckett, as we learn from Matthew Paris, Henry himself besieged and captured Huntingdon Castle, whereupon, in order to secure his pardon, the garrisons of Groby and Mountsorrel deserted the Earl, and the castles fell into the hands of the King. In 1176 the castles of Leicester, Huntingdon, Groby, and many others were razed to the ground by Henry's order, but Mountsorrel was preserved for the King's use. Robert Blanchmaines was afterwards restored to favour and reinstated in his possessions, Mountsorrel alone being excepted as a place of too great importance to be allowed to remain in the hands of a subject of doubtful fidelity.

Richard I. again withheld the castle from Robert Fitz Parnell, the son and successor of Blanchmaines; but John, whilst nominally retaining the ownership, unwisely, as it turned out, gave the governorship to Saër de Quincey, Earl of Winchester, who had married Blanchmaines' sister. De Quincey taking part with the rebellious barons, the King then granted the custody of the place to Simon de Cantelupe in 1215. Simon, however, does not appear to have taken possession, for we find from Matthew Paris that when, in 1216, John raided the north of England as far as Berwick, Mountsorrel and Helmsley in Yorkshire were the only two northern castles which held out against him. Mountsorrel, indeed, was so powerful an obstacle that, on his return from the north, John found it advisable to divert his march westwards towards the borders of Wales, and so continued his ravages to the south of England.

Before John died De Quincey had taken an active part in engaging the assistance of the French against him, and at the time of the accession of Henry III. the castle was held by his deputy, Henry de Braybrooke, for the Lewisian party. On January 20th, 1217, the knights and soldiers sallied forth on a plundering expedition; news of the raid was taken to Nottingham, then held by William Marshall for the young King, and a party was sent out to attack the marauders. A skirmish took place, we are not told where, with the result that the Mountsorrel men were beaten back with the loss of three men killed and twenty-one prisoners.[1]

Shortly after Easter in the same year, induced by William Marshall, the King's Guardian and Protector of the Realm, Ranulph, Earl of Chester, William, Earl of Albemarle, William, Earl Ferrers, Robert de Veteriponte, Brian de Insula, William de Cantelupe, Philip Marc, Robert de Gangi, Falcatius de Brent, with the governors of their castles and many men of their garrisons, joined together to besiege Mountsorrel. Placing their warlike engines in

[1] So Matthew Paris; Stow, quoting apparently from another source, says three killed, ten knights and fourteen men captured.

suitable positions, they began a vigorous bombardment, to which Henry de Braybrooke, with his ten knights and their numerous retainers, as vigorously replied, hurling back on the besiegers stone for stone and bolt for bolt. When the siege had continued for many days, and the supplies of the besieged showed signs of failing, the latter sent a messenger to Saër de Quincey, who was then in London, and begged him to come to their assistance. He in his turn appealed for help to the Dauphin, who had recently landed in England. Louis willingly acceded to the request, and on the last day of April an army set out from London, consisting of six hundred knights and more than twenty thousand men, under the command of the Count of Perche, Marshal of France, with Saër de Quincey and Robert Fitz-Walter as his subordinates. They sacked St. Albans, Dunstable, and other places on their route, sparing neither churches nor abbeys, and torturing without mercy any who resisted them or refused to yield their hidden wealth. The besiegers of Mountsorrel, hearing of the approach of the enemy, retired to Nottingham, whence shortly afterwards they set out for Lincoln—which, too, was besieged at the time by Gilbert de Gaunt — took the city and slew or captured almost all of its defenders. The French army, therefore, having reinforced Mountsorrel, marched away towards Lincoln through the Vale of Belvoir, miserably plundering the inhabitants. "The French foot-soldiers," says Matthew Paris, "spread over that region like a filthy flood, and left nothing whatever untouched. So poor and wretched were the people after the invaders had passed by that they hardly possessed wherewith to cover their nakedness." The sequel is well known to every reader of history. On May 19th took place the battle of Lincoln Fair. The French were defeated, the Count of Perche slain, Saër de Quincey, Robert FitzWalter, and a host of other knights were captured, all their rich plunder fell to the share of the victors, and the cause of Louis in England was hopelessly ruined.

In accordance with the terms of the treaty made with the Dauphin when he evacuated the country in September of the same year, the captured nobles were released and restored to all the rights they enjoyed before the troubles. Many of them, accompanied by some of their victors, afterwards took part in the Sixth Crusade, and we are told by Stow that Saër de Quincey and Robert FitzWalter died at Damietta shortly after its capture by Ranulph de Blondeville in 1220.

On May 20th, the day after the Lincoln fight, news was brought to Henry III. that the garrison of Mountsorrel had fled; he therefore issued orders to the Sheriff of Nottingham that the castle should be razed to the ground "as a nest of the devil and a den of thieves and robbers." The people of the neighbourhood, we are told with some probability, gladly helped in the work of demolition, and no doubt they did their work thoroughly. At any rate there is now not a vestige of walls or masonry on the summit of the rock, nor is there any means of reconstructing the castle in imagination. We can, it is true, gather some notion of its extent from the traces of fortifications to be found in the mounds and ridges on the western side, the only one which needed such protection. Again, in the seal[1] of Margaret de Quincey, the heiress of Saër, we may have a representation of one of the gateways; the round tower, too, on the trader's token issued by Joseph Lovell of Mountsorrel in 1677, may possibly portray a remnant of the building still existing at that date; but on neither of these points is there any certain evidence. Potter, writing in 1842, mentions a winding staircase of which the steps, "though hidden by loose stones, still remain." These have now disappeared, but I have been told by an old inhabitant of the town, who remembers them well, that they were at the foot of a square hole, lined with masonry and partly filled with water, which lay under the steepest part of

[1] Figured in Nichols.

the rock. This on more than one occasion proved a trap for cattle grazing on the summit of the hill, and my informant tells how he was lowered into the hole, passed ropes round the body of a valuable beast which had fallen into the water, and helped to haul it out; he afterwards took a part in filling it in with earth and stones rolled over from the steep hill-side. The site is still pointed out by those who were alive at that time, but it has been so completely covered that no one else would suspect its existence. In the backyard of a house facing the main street and standing at the foot of the rock at its north-east end there is still to be seen the entrance to a passage or vault, roughly arched with Barrow limestone, and said by tradition to have given access through the rock to the interior of the fortress. In view of the hardness of the Mountsorrel syenite and the rude appliances for cutting it available in Norman times, we can hardly give much credence to this supposition; but still it is possible that we have in this passage an authentic relic of the outworks of the castle. As one might expect, wild tales are told of the extent and purpose of the passage, and of attempts at exploring it. I am told, for instance, by a dweller on the spot, that many years ago a man ventured into the passage with his dog, but they never returned; no one had the courage to attempt their rescue, and soon afterwards, to prevent further disaster, the way was blocked with stones and rubbish not far from the entrance. Utilitarian considerations, however, so far prevailed that enough of the passage was kept clear to serve the purpose of a shed, and it has until quite recently been found satisfactory as a sty for pigs.

The manor of Mountsorrel was given by Henry III. to Stephen de Segrave, then Chief Justice of the Common Pleas and afterwards Chief Justice of England, who about 1228 purchased from Ranulph, Earl of Chester, all the lands he then possessed in the manor. To his descendant, Nicholas de Segrave, and his heirs, Edward I., on July 14th, 1292, granted the privilege of holding a weekly market

on Mondays, and a yearly fair for eight days, to be held on the eve, day, and morrow of St. John the Baptist, and five days after. In the eighteenth century and the early part of the nineteenth both fair and market attained considerable importance. Raw wool, leather, and woollen yarn, with horses and cattle, were staple articles of trade, and "Mountsorrel gloves[1] were once as valued as those of Oxford and Woodstock." Coaches to all parts of the Kingdom passed through the town almost every hour. To accommodate the traders and visitors there were at one time in the town as many as twenty-seven inns,[2] some of them of considerable size; and the large and substantial houses still standing, some of them well proportioned and tastefully decorated in the Adam style, attest the prosperity of the place in its palmy days. At the junction of Watling Street[3] with the main road once stood a beautiful Gothic cross, with fluted shaft, surmounted by a canopied niche. For the greater convenience of the butter-women this was removed in 1793 by Sir John Danvers, then lord of the manor, to his park at Swithland, and a shelter was erected in its place. The cross is carefully preserved, but the shelter, with its brick floor, Doric columns, and domed roof supporting an urn, is neglected, and yearly suffers more and more from natural decay and the mischief wrought by children and idlers.

By the second quarter of the nineteenth century the fair had ceased to be important commercially, though the market still flourished. Thus in White's Directory of 1846 I find it stated that "the market, held on Monday, is well supplied with provisions, and here is a fair for pleasure, toys, &c., on the 10th of July." In old times the fair was officially "proclaimed" by the lord of the manor or his lady, but in later years by his agent. Every householder was then obliged, either in person or by

[1] Potter, *Rambles Round Loughborough.*

[2] The names of some of these inns are interesting, *e.g.* Robin Hood, Little John, Paul Pry, and The Grenadier. Thirteen of them are still in existence.

[3] Nichols says, erroneously, at the end of "Barn Lane."

proxy, to "handsell" his name or to pay a fine of a penny, called the "smoke penny." Any householder had the right to display a "bush" over his door, and to dispense liquor free of licensing duty during the nine days of the fair; the privilege was in practice, however, usually limited to those whose houses were large enough to accommodate guests, and three such houses are still known as "bush houses" by the older inhabitants. It need hardly be said that much drinking and debauchery was the result, and it is not to be wondered at that it was found necessary at these times to swear in twelve of the inhabitants as special constables. After taking the oath they were provided with thick staves, about three feet long, emblazoned with the royal arms, and were required to fix them on their house wall at their door, so that all might know upon whom to call for assistance in time of need. A "court of pie powder" was also held at one of the principal inns for the summary trial of all disputes between buyer and seller, and the settlement of other disturbances arising out of the fair during the ten days that it was in progress. So great was the nuisance caused by these disorders towards the third quarter of last century that, at the petition of some of the leading inhabitants, the official fair was abolished by the Earl of Lanesborough in or about the year 1872. For about six years afterwards, however, a farmer named Bowler, of "Dob Hall," seated astride a beer barrel in the guise of Bacchus, issued a mock proclamation, having previously paraded the town, riding on a white donkey, wearing a tall hat and gaudy-coloured and be-ribboned coat, and accompanied by attendants bearing mop handles to represent the constables' staves.[1]

The market appears to have disappeared before the fair, and to have given place to a Friday evening market arranged to suit the convenience of the men working in the

[1] The official staves last used are now in the possession of Mr. J. H. Barrs, who occupies the site of the old "Black Swan," where the "court of pie powder" was last held.

Mountsorrel Cross and Castle Hill.

granite quarries, whose pay-day was Friday. In consequence, however, of the drunkenness attending the market and the loss to the owners of the quarry through many of their men being incapacitated on the Saturday, and even on the Monday and Tuesday following, the pay-day was in 1876 changed to Saturday, and the market came to an end, the stall-keepers having more important business in Leicester and Loughborough on that day.

Of historical events directly connected with Mountsorrel subsequent to the fall of the castle I have found few records. But its inhabitants have witnessed many royal progresses, and have watched the march of armies and other cavalcades of stirring or mournful interest. They saw Richard III. pass on his way from Nottingham shortly before his death on Bosworth Field; Wolsey one evening rode sadly by on his way to die at Leicester Abbey; just before the outbreak of the great Civil War, Charles I. passed through the town, both when he went to try and overawe Coventry and Leicester and when he returned crestfallen and disappointed; Cromwell again strode northward along the main street to his triumph at Preston; and Monk rode south with his Scotch troops to meet the Parliamentary Commissioners near Rothley not long before the restoration of Charles II. At these times, no doubt, the inns of Mountsorrel did a roaring trade, and we have it on record that in August 1642, Mr. Dugdale, Rouge Croix pursuivant, afterwards better known as Sir William Dugdale, the antiquary, acted as guide to a party of the King's men sent to summon the town of Warwick, and spent a night in one of them. Two years later a skirmish, or series of skirmishes, took place in and about the town between the Roundheads and the Royalists, of which a full account is given in a paper[1] preserved in the Record Office but not hitherto published. The circumstances leading to and arising from this engagement will be alluded to in a subsequent chapter

[1] State Papers Domestic, Charles I., Vol. 501, Paper 56.

of this book, but this will be the most appropriate place to give the document in full. It runs as follows :—

March 30th, 1644. — George Palmer, Captain Lieutenant to Colonell Thornhaugh,[1] examined, sayth that upon Saterday, the 16th of March instant, this examinant comanded the forlorne hope w^ch^ was sent out by Order from S^r^ Edward Hartopp against the enemies then being about Mountsorrell, w^ch^ order was to that effect : That this examinant with the forlorne hope should goe to a certaine hill neere to Mountsorrell, there to make a stand untill the rest of the bodie of the pliament side come up ; whereupon the enemye beinge betwixt the hill & this examinant, this examinant seeing the enemie plunderinge horses from plowmen in the field, there fell uppon them, tooke three prisoners and forcd the other backe, and soe came to the hill. Then S^r^ Edward sent word to this examinant that he went too fast for the bodie to followe, and this examinant, hearinge by Scouts sent before that the enemye was squandered and dispiersed in the towne, went on and pursued the enemye. Then S^r^ Edward sent againe to make a stand, w^ch^ this examinant did. Then this examinants scouts cominge in brought intelligence, and likewise this Examinant hearde by some townsmen of Mountsorrell and others that the enemye was in their quarters in divers townes thereabouts, and divers of their foote dranke in Mountsorrell, whereupon this Examite sent S^r^ Edward notice thereof, desiringe to knowe whether he should fall on or not, and desiringe some asystance from him ; but this Examinant was Comanded by Captayne Innis in S^r^ Edwards name to march hard by the townes side and there to stand ; then the Enemye, perceiving their Comminge, drewe as manye as they could get together for the present into Battalia to face them in the meadowe betwixt them and the Enemye. Then, by Order of Capt. Ennys, this Examinant charged the enemye with the forlorne hope, and forced them to retreat over a bridge ; and, the enemy facing about, the forlorne hope rid forciblye over the bridge, and forced them backe into Mountsorrell. Then S^r^ Edward Hartopp, cominge up w^th^ the bodie, stood looking upon them of the forlorne hope, but would send them noe reliefe, although sent to for it ; w^ch^ the Enemye pceiving sent reliefe to their bodye and soe beat this Examinant and the forlorne hope backe ; whereat the troops of Collonell Thornhays[2] regiment were ready to mutinye upon sight thereof, and sayd they would not suffer this Examinant to be soe ingaged in their sight. Then came up a Lincolnshire troop without Order, as they sayd to relieve this Exam^t^, when they were beaten backe by the enemy into the towne ; but being yet too weake, the enemy, seeing noe more helpe come, cut of divers of the forlorne hope and tooke manie prisoners and rescued their men prisoners taken from them, w^ch^ were considerable for number and qualitie. Then this Exam^t^, being tyred in fight, went to S^r^ Edward and desired some reliefe, tellinge him their extremitye ; but he answered this Exam^t^ asking what authoritye

[1] Of the Nottingham garrison.
[2] *i.e.* Thornhaugh's.

this Exam^{t} had to goe over the bridge into the towne, and told this exam^{t} that a counsell of warre should goe on him and them y^{t} seconded him; then this Exam^{t}, urging him for a fresh horse, he sayd he had none for this Exam^{t}, whereupon this Exam^{t} told Major Sanders[1] thereof, who much grieved thereat helped this exam^{t} to a fresh horse, wherewith this Exam^{t}, cominge to S^{r} Edward for Orders, he Comanded all should retyre. Yet notwithstandinge, this Exam^{t} wth a Company of dragoons charged the enemye againe into the towne, and so brought of most of his men and kept the towne. Then S^{r} Edward sent Order againe that all the horse & dragoons should retire agayne, although they were very secure, being baracadoed wth Carts in the towne; and soe they left it with great store of provisions of the enemyes w^{ch} they had taken from them, whereby they lost their qrter and provision there & were forced to be all night w^{thout} provision for horse or men. The next daye, being Saboath daye, some of the Notingham troopes told S^{r} Edward in the Exam^{ts} hearinge yt if he would not suffer them to fight they would goe home, who answered that he had no Comission to fight, and if their Collonell[2] was there he would hange up some of them for being soe forward, and soe passed from them. The next daye, when the fight was at Cotes bridge, and the foote ingaged in fight wth the enemye, this Exam^{t} went to S^{r} Edward for Orders to assyst them, but S^{r} Edward sent this Exam^{t} & Nottingham troops to the toppe of Stanford hill, there to stand untill further Order from him w^{ch} they had none untill they were comanded to retire after the fight was done. GEORGE PALMER.

This examynation was taken before us, and is offered to be justified by the oathe of the Examinate.

THO. BABINGTON.[3]
THO. HESILRIGE.[4]
FR. SMALLEY.[5]
WILL. STANLEY.[6]

[*Endorsed.*—"The Examination of Capt. Geo. Palmer taken before the Comittee at Leicester, 30th March 1644."]

Although the positions occupied by the Roundheads at the various stages of this engagement cannot be identified with certainty, it is probable that the following explanation is not far from the truth.

Coming from Nottingham by way of Melton the "forlorn hope" most probably crossed the Soar by the Cossington

[1] Of the Derbyshire horse.
[2] Colonel Hutchinson.
[3] Babington of Rothley.
[4] Brother of Sir Arthur Haselrig.
[5] Of Mountsorrel.
[6] Alderman of Leicester.*

(* [3] to [6] were members of the Leicester Committee of Sequestrations.)

bridge. They would first come in sight of the enemy when descending the hill from Rothley cross-roads to the brook. The hill they were sent to seize was that on which Rothley Lodge now stands. Keeping on the ridge of this hill, and wheeling to the left in a sweeping quarter circle, they would reach a position near the present Union Workhouse, whence they could charge along a fairly even slope towards the enemy in the meadow below. Whether they drove the enemy through the town or kept to the fields between it and the river is not clear; but it is quite certain that the bridge was situated near the present vicarage, for at that time, of course, no canal had been made, and old maps show that the main stream of the river came quite close to the town.[1] The road was barricaded almost certainly at the north end of the town at its narrowest part near St. Peter's Church, otherwise it is difficult to see how the Roundheads could have gathered in the plunder of which Captain Palmer speaks. After the order had been given to retire, the main body possibly drew off across the bridge close by, and marched off by Slash Lane and Barrow to their next position at Cotes, whilst the Leicester contingent returned to guard their town against further attack.

Throughout the great Civil War Mountsorrel and the neighbouring villages were staunch supporters of the Parliamentary party, and the Royalist gentry were fain to flee to Ashby for protection. It is not surprising, therefore, that soon after the war was over we find Nonconformity firmly established in the town. As early as 1651 there was a Baptist congregation of some importance there, for two of its members, Robert Fielding and William Kendall, attended as delegates a conference in London, at which was drawn up "The Faith and Practice of Thirty Congregations," one of

[1] There was a stone bridge of four arches here in 1846, according to White's *Directory*, and this was destroyed in 1852, as I am informed by an old inhabitant who helped to blow up the piers with gunpowder. The half-ruined brick bridge in "Old Slash Lane" may also have been in existence in 1644, for bricks of the same dimensions as those of which it is composed were made at that time and considerably later.

the earliest Creeds issued by a corporate body of Baptists. On the passing of the Act of Uniformity in 1662 the Mountsorrel congregation of course met with persecution, but under the leadership of Richard Adams, an ejected minister of Humberstone, they offered some resistance to Mr. Babbington, the local Justice, who finally allowed Mr. Adams to keep school in his house, but refused to allow unauthorised services to be held there. Charnwood Forest, however, offered almost ideal ground for the holding of secret conventicles, and we may be sure that the opportunity was taken advantage of. At any rate Nonconformity continued to flourish, for before the end of the seventeenth century the Baptists had acquired a burial-ground of their own, which, surrounded by walls and palisades, is still to be seen near the middle of the Main Street of Mountsorrel, and is still kept in good order and repair. In 1699, moreover, one Elizabeth Thornton by her will "devised three houses at Mountsorrel, and three roods and a sneath of ground" in Barrow-on-Soar to four trustees, the rents to be used for repairing the burial-ground and the relief of the poor. The Baptist meeting-place was a low thatched building of one room, measuring about 26 feet by 14 feet, situated near the Cross, and known as the "Back-Door Meeting House" from the fact that it was entered by a corner door opening, not on the street, but on a farmyard behind.

Presbyterians, again, were resident in the neighbourhood during the Commonwealth and the reigns of Charles II. and his brother James, and they certainly had a licensed meeting-house in Mountsorrel in 1700.[1] The Mountsorrel congregation was probably an offshoot of the Loughborough community founded in 1672 by Samuel Statham, who had been assistant to John Wesley's grandfather, Dr. Annesley, the ejected minister of St. Giles's, Cripplegate. The name of the first minister is not known, but in 1702, Mr. Michael Matthews, who had since 1693 been Master of the school

[1] Newcourt and Hennessey's *Repertorium*.

founded by Thomas Rawlins[1] at Woodhouse, joined with John Doughty and Samuel Lawrence in setting "apart to the office of a presbyter" Mr. William Woodhouse, minister at Rearsby. Mr. Matthews also "did upon his own freehold there and at his own proper costs and charges erect a Building or Meeting House containing four bays to the end and intent that the congregation or people might with more ease and greater conveniency assemble together for Religious Worship." This building, in which Dr. Watts is said to have preached, still exists, and faces the "green." It reverted, on the death of Michael Matthews, to his widow, Sarah Matthews, and her son-in-law, James Watson, a preacher of note, who might have kept it for themselves, but who offered in 1729 to make it over to a body of fifteen trustees, substantial yeomen and handicraftsmen of Mountsorrel, Quorn, Thurcaston, Rothley, Swithland, Wanlip, Cropston, and Cossington. The conditions attached to the transfer were, however, so onerous that the deed was not completed, and it was not until 1742, after the death of James and Sarah Watson, that a new deed[2] was drawn up, and the transfer actually completed by Michael Watson, the grandson of the original benefactor. By the end of the first quarter of the nineteenth century the Presbyterian community had almost ceased to exist, and in 1842 their meeting-house was handed over to the New Connexion of General Baptists, by whom it is still held and used as a Sunday school.

Mountsorrel is now known chiefly for its granite quarries, the stone from which is especially suitable for kerb-stones, road paving, and macadamising. Its value as a road material was

[1] Thomas Rawlins in 1712 bequeathed £2, 10s. annually to the poor persons attending Mr. Matthews's meeting-house in Mountsorrel. In the archives of the Grammar School, Quorn, are many papers in his writing, including notes and transcripts of sermons, prayers, hymns, verses, devotional observations, and other scraps, some of them containing indirect references to Dr. Annesley, Matthew Meade, Dr. Harris, and Christopher Ness, noted Nonconformists of his day.

[2] This deed and the others here referred to are now in the possession of the trustees of the Mountsorrel Baptist Chapel.

known and esteemed, indeed, before the time of Macadam, but it was not apparently until his system of road-making became general that attempts were made to open quarries as a commercial undertaking.[1] Owing to the hardness of the stone, however, the attempts of the pioneers, Adderley, Raworth, and Wood, resulted in failure; but about 1830, a Mr. Jackson met with more success, and he even went so far as to introduce workmen from Scotland with the hope of rendering the material available for architectural purposes. This last venture, unfortunately, appears to have led to his failure also, and he too retired from the contest in 1844, when the lease was taken over by Mr. William Martin, by whose family the quarries are still worked. Improved methods of blasting, and a business-like limitation of the preparation of the stone by the methods and for the purposes for which its hardness and the peculiarity of its cleavage rendered it both suitable and commercially profitable, soon had their reward. We find, consequently, that in 1849 the number of employees had risen to two hundred, whilst at the present time about seven hundred men and boys are engaged in getting and preparing the stone. Broad Hill, from which the besiegers of the castle hurled their stones and bolts, has now been almost quarried away, but the castle hill itself is intact, still dominates the village, and forms a prominent landmark for travellers along the high-road, whilst to those who know its history it sheds some glamour of romance over its prosaic twentieth-century surroundings.

[1] Curtis's *Leicestershire*, 1831.

THE ANCIENT HOUSES

By J. Alfred Gotch, F.S.A.

FOR so large a county Leicestershire has singularly few ancient houses of first-rate interest; nor are there many of the old simple manor-houses still remaining—houses such as, in other parts of England, have either become farmhouses or have been left empty and uncared for, to take their chance against "the wreckful siege of battering days." It is the houses which have escaped renovation that are of the greatest interest to students of the domestic architecture of the past. Houses which have been continuously occupied by well-to-do people have naturally undergone alterations from time to time, and these changes are valuable enough if not carried on to so late a period as to obliterate their historical interest. In Leicestershire the owners of important houses seem to have been able to rebuild them from time to time, and not to have been compelled to leave them to decay or to sink into farmhouses. It is therefore not a county from which the story of the evolution of the English house can be either completely or copiously illustrated. Still, although it has few examples, some of them are of considerable interest.

Of castles in the true meaning of the word there are none. Belvoir Castle is practically modern throughout; Leicester has but scanty remains. Such others as are recorded are now non-existent. The castles of Ashby-de-la-Zouche and Kirby Muxloe are not in reality castles, but strongly fortified houses, and much of their interest is derived from the fact that they were so strongly fortified at so late a period, namely, towards the close of the fifteenth century.

But their builder, William, Lord Hastings, had experienced rough times during the Wars of the Roses, and it may be that the memory of what he had endured led him to do what he could to render his new houses safe. They are among the last which were built with so careful an eye to defence.

Ashby-de-la-Zouche is an irregularly planned house with the usual arrangement of the rooms customary at the period. It is completely ruined, but its plan can be made out; it has, indeed, been measured and drawn.[1] There is the great hall with the family rooms at one end, and beyond them the chapel; at the other end are the buttery, pantry, and kitchen. The latter, as in many other instances, is in a separate tower. There is also another lofty isolated tower, a descendant of the ancient keep. There were two courtyards, one to the north and one to the south of the hall—a very usual arrangement, which thus placed the hall in the most protected position, and enabled it to be provided with large and cheerful windows. Haddon Hall, in Derbyshire, is another instance of this kind of plan. There too, as here, the kitchen was on an outside wall, in which it was unwise to put large windows; but apparently the fire itself was relied on to afford sufficient light for cooking.

Of much the same date as this house at Ashby was another, built by the same Lord Hastings, at Kirby Muxloe. This, too, was strongly fortified, and was furnished with a moat, drawbridge, and portcullis. There are not very extensive remains, but what there are show that the house was quite symmetrical—very different in this respect from Ashby. It is possible that in the latter case the disposition may have been governed by the remains of a much older building, and that in the former the entire house was new and the designers had a free hand as to its plan. A curious

[1] By Mr. T. H. Fosbrooke, in the *Trans. Leic. Lit. and Phil. Soc.*, vol. ii. Pt. III., April 1890. Mr. Fosbrooke is shortly publishing a revised account of the Castle.

feature at Kirby is the provision of round holes for the muzzles of cannon in the towers of the entrance gatehouse. The symmetry of the plan is noteworthy, because mediæval houses as a rule were built in a very haphazard fashion—the relation of the hall to the family rooms and kitchens being always observed—whereas during the sixteenth century, owing largely to the influence of Italian methods of design, a very rigid symmetry became fashionable. Here at Kirby, however, we get the symmetry long before the advent of the Italian influence.

The next important house in point of date is Neville Holt, in many respects the most remarkable in the county. Unlike Ashby and Kirby, it is built of stone. The porch is the finest of its kind in England. It is of two storeys, and is noteworthy by reason of the unusual but effective disposition of the windows, which are grouped at the two angles of the building. The work is adorned with panelling and with ornamental string-courses, all the carving being full of variety and spirit. Near the porch is the great bay of the hall, and this fine feature, combining with the quaint porch and its carefully designed chimney-stack, helps to form an architectural group of uncommon interest. Adjoining the house is the church, which, with the added mass of the domestic part, forms a wide-extending façade, behind which springs the graceful spire. Flanking the open space in front of the main building is the stable wing, of later date, as proclaimed by the lofty lantern which rises from the middle of the roof, but yet retaining a curious admixture of Jacobean treatment in the doorways. Within the hall is some interesting early woodwork, not the least remarkable being the roof of the hall itself.

One of the finest houses in the county, when it was in its glory, must have been Bradgate Park; but it has now fallen into absolute ruin, and the bulk of it has entirely disappeared. A view of it is given in Kip's *Britannia Illustrata*, which shows a house chiefly of Elizabeth's time, but not of the usual symmetrical shape.

KIRBY MUXLOE CASTLE : INTERIOR VIEW.

This, again, may be owing to the incorporation of an earlier house, for an earlier house there was, since at Bradgate were born, between 1530 and 1540, Lady Jane Grey and her sisters.[1] A melancholy history is theirs, full of suffering caused, not by their own misdoings, but by the accident of their birth and the ambition of their relatives. Of the Lady Jane old Thomas Fuller says: "No lady who led so many pious, lived so few pleasant days." She was beheaded when she was but seventeen. Her sister Katharine fared but little better. She was married young, but for political reasons the marriage was annulled, and the poor girl "was seldom seen with dry eyes for some years together, sighing out her sorrowful condition; so that though the roses in her cheeks looked very wan and pale, it was not for want of watering." A second time she was married, but yet again the match found no favour in high quarters, and before she was twenty she found herself in the Tower, where, after an unhappy residence of nine years, she died. How often must she have looked back with longing to the ancient oaks and sylvan beauties of her childhood's home!

Among the best preserved ancient houses of the county, many date from the early years of the seventeenth century; the most noteworthy of them are Laund Abbey, Quenby, Shenton, Ragdale, and Stapleford.

Laund Abbey is a simple manor-house, mullioned and gabled; but it was built among the remains and partly out of the materials of a monastic ruin. It is a quiet, unpretentious house, devoid of any ambitious treatment, without classic cornices or pilasters; just a charming example of the vernacular architecture of an English country-side. Attached to it is a chapel, part of the original monastic work. Its most remarkable feature is a fine monument of 1551 in memory of Gregory, Lord Cromwell, son of the celebrated minister of Henry VIII.

[1] See "The Greys of Groby and Bradgate," p. 102 of this volume.

Here we have the classic cornices and the carved pilasters of the Anglo-Italian style, the amorini supporting a long panel ready for an inscription, and a bold heraldic achievement with shield, helm, crest, and winged supporters.

Quenby Hall, of about 1620, is a capital specimen of Jacobean work, altered internally in the eighteenth century, much to its detriment, but now reinstated by an owner who understands the period and appreciates its peculiarities. The exterior is almost untouched, and presents the long body and projecting wings, all filled with mullioned windows, characteristic of the early seventeenth century. It has what probably no other house of its time ever had—two garde-robe towers detached from the main building, but connected by a short passage. Jacobean planners were not very particular in such matters, and were far behind their mediæval ancestors in the care which they bestowed upon sanitation. The roof of the house is flat, and the whole place, both in plan and appearance, closely resembles the fine house of Doddington in Lincolnshire. Within the walls most of the old work has disappeared, but a large and coarsely magnificent chimney-piece remains, as well as the charming fretted ceiling and chimney-piece of the drawing-room.

Shenton Hall retains a good deal of its original work, although it has been considerably enlarged. The south front is the most interesting, and although not very long, it has four large bay windows, of which the two outside are circular, and the others are canted, in the more usual manner. They are all lofty, the circular ones being of three storeys and the others of two. The use of large and lofty bay-windows was quite characteristic of the period, 1629, when Shenton Hall was built. They were generally introduced not merely to add to the size and cheerfulness of the rooms internally, but also to serve as important features in the external composition. Many a Jacobean mansion owed its distinctive appearance to its bay-windows, which broke up its long façades, and helped to impart character

NEVILL HOLT, S.E. FRONT, CHURCH, AND STABLES

to the design, quite as much as the steep gables and massive chimney-stacks. If anything the four bays at Shenton are a little overpowering, and they would have been more telling had the front been more extensive. But, on the other hand, they have the happy faculty of combining stateliness with vivacity. The inside of the house has been modernised, the only ancient features being the chimney-piece of the dining-room (in part), and an inscription on the beam in one of the bays, "This house was builte by me William Wollaston Ano. Dni. 1629."

At the same time as Shenton Hall, there was being built in another part of the county the very interesting and picturesque house of Ragdale Old Hall. This is a brick structure with stone dressings, but the elegant chimneys are entirely of brick. It is of rather baffling design, because while apparently intended as a symmetrical building with a porch in the centre, one half has been carried out on a larger and finer scale than the other, and yet the half which is inferior externally has a beautifully-panelled room of the same date as the external walls, and this fact points to the space which it occupies having been part of the original design. The main features of the house are a central porch, and a large, many-sided bay on each side; these, together with great projecting chimney-stacks of brick, combine to produce a striking group. The effect is obtained by simple means, for there is not much in the way of applied decoration, a shield of arms in the parapet of each bay-window and a somewhat ornamental treatment of the porch being all that was attempted in this direction. The porch is quite characteristic of the period. It is a square projection, with its eaves carried up to the same height as those of the main building. It is entered through a semicircular arch, flanked by double columns of the ordinary classic type; these are surmounted by a pilaster which is crowned in the next stage by an obelisk. In the large panel formed between the pilasters is a grand display of heraldry; the central

object is a shield with fifty quarterings, with helm, crest, and mantling, all rather stiffly modelled; on the dexter side are two defaced shields, which probably bore the arms of the husband, while on the sinister are the crest and arms of the wife's family. This exhibition of family grandeur is quite in the spirit of the times. Very few houses are without some indication that the owners were *armigeri*, or entitled to bear arms, and in a few cases it was pointed out at the time with some acerbity that a *nouveau riche* had adorned his windows or his chimney-piece, or some other feature, with a multitude of shields to which, it was alleged, he had not the slightest right. It is not by any means a modern movement for wrathful purists to arise and dispute the claim of certain individuals to bear the arms of which they make use. However, here at Ragdale there has been no controversy of this kind, and Sir Henry Shirley, who built the house in 1629 and adorned it with his fifty quarterings, was perfectly entitled to do so. It was he also who put up the charming panelling and chimney-piece to which reference has already been made. The panelling is of unusual excellence, and includes a projecting cupboard with canted sides, which is probably unique. The chimney-piece (also of wood) is of more ordinary design, and includes the usual pilasters at the sides and an overmantel with a large shield of arms as its central feature. Among the ornamental work appear the initials H.S.D. for Henry Shirley and Devereux (his wife's family name) and the date 1631.

If Ragdale is a fine example of a brick building, Stapleford Hall is an equally interesting specimen of one in stone. The house has undergone much reparation from time to time. It was originally built, it would seem, in the year 1500; it was repaired in 1633, and greatly enlarged in the times of Charles II., while in recent years it has been still further enlarged and altered. A wing of the original house still remains, and possesses certainly one of the most curious façades which exist in England. It was repaired, as a large inscription tells us, in 1633; but while the end

gable and the quaint dormers thoroughly indicate this date, the bulk of the walls seem to be of earlier workmanship and retain windows and niches of Gothic detail. There are twelve of these niches, filled with statues of ancestors of the family or figures in some way connected with it; a most remarkable series, and one probably without a rival. There are also numerous panels carved with figure subjects, mostly scriptural in origin, which are said to have been brought from an older building; but the history of this front is involved in some obscurity, and is well worthy of prolonged investigation. It would appear that in 1633 the owner, William, Lord Sherard, Baron of Leitrim, repaired his house, and either restored this old wing, with its existing statues and carved panels, or else introduced into it some or all of the interesting features of an older building, at the same time giving to the new work, namely the gables and dormers, the shape and the mouldings distinctive of his own time. He also did other work of some distinction, a remnant of which is the handsome archway now built into an outlying wing, through which lies one of the principal approaches to the house. The later work, undertaken about the time of Charles II., is also of considerable merit.

There are a few other houses which deserve mention. Skeffington Hall, although largely modernised, retains some interesting work of the early sixteenth century, notably a large bay-window, now buried inside and nearly filled with a staircase. The bulk of the house is of the seventeenth century, and a small portion has some good work of the eighteenth. Carlton Curlieu has a capital Jacobean manor-house, also much modernised; at Pickwell and Brentingby, and in a few other villages, there are gabled and mullioned houses, but few are worthy of special effort to visit them, although quite worth seeing in passing.

Of more than usual interest is Cold Overton Hall, standing at the summit of a hill and embosomed in ancient trees. It is the product of a time when men's thoughts were more occupied with destroying houses than building

them. Its exact date is not known, but the character of the work places it as a connecting link between the early classic of Jacobean times and the later of Charles II. It has the mullioned windows of the former, yet with a difference. It has the flat pediment and the large eaves cornice of the latter. Inside, as in most houses, the old work has largely been replaced with new, but some panelling, a door or two, and a few chimney-pieces have survived, and so has the massive staircase, with its interesting dog-gate, an expedient of Jacobean times to prevent the dogs having the run of the whole house. One of the rooms has a fine pair of fire-dogs with enamelled bosses of the time of the second Charles.

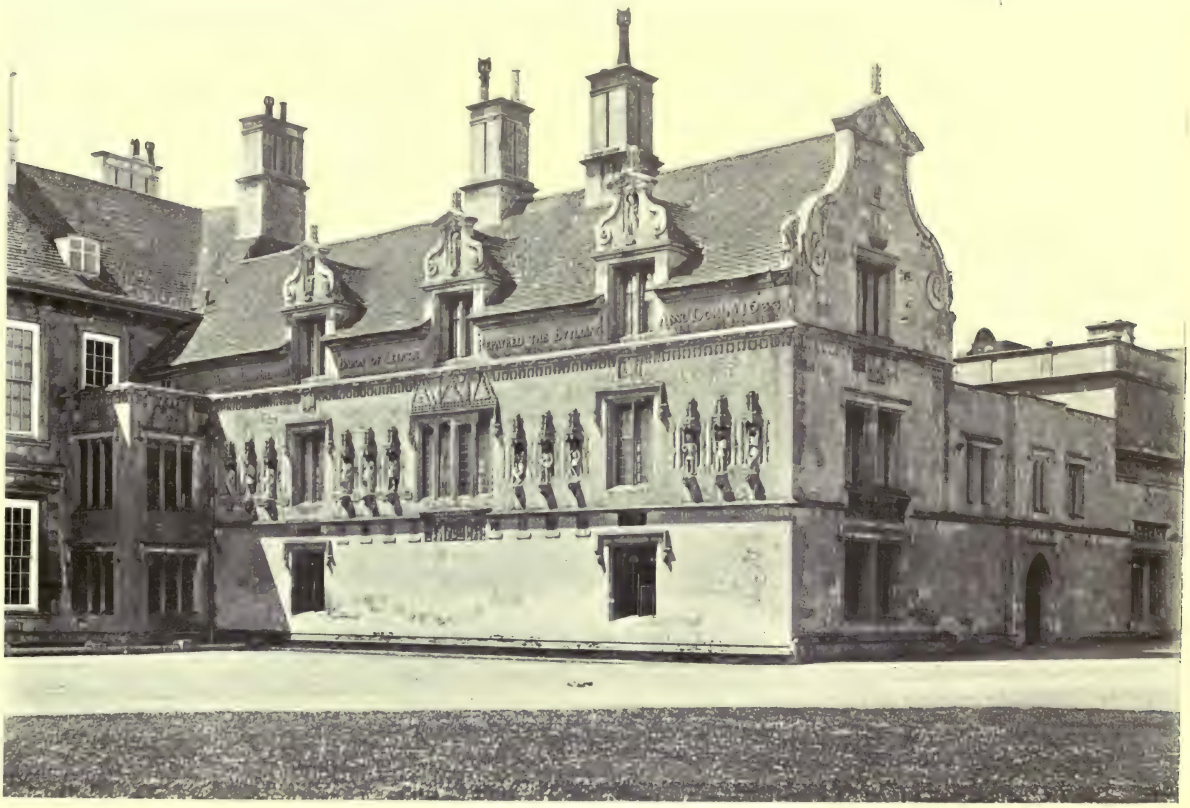
An interesting building of the classic period is the Grammar School at Appleby, built between 1670 and 1680, and attributed, as so many buildings are on equally slender grounds, to Sir Christopher Wren. The work, however, is distinctive of his time. The front has two slightly projecting wings joined by an arcade of five round arches, not quite so extensive, but still of the same kind, as those satirised by Pope when he prophesied of the "imitating fools" who followed Lord Burlington that they would

"Call the wind through long arcades to roar."

The walls are crowned with a heavy cornice and pierced with tall mullioned windows, in which the ancient greenish glass still distorts the view. There is a statue of the founder, Sir John Moore, in a niche surrounded with stiff wreaths of flowers. Cherubs' heads adorn the water-spouts as well as the massive chair in which the master sat while the

"Boding tremblers learned to trace
The day's disasters in his morning face."

Of still later date is the charming old house, Lowesby Hall, built in the eighteenth century, and still retaining much of its original character. Like most houses of that period, it is quiet and substantial in treatment, free from wildly



Stapleford Hall, Old Wing.

picturesque features, but impressive by reason of its long rows of sash-windows and its bold cornice. One front has a broad terrace with a noble flight of circular steps leading down to a lawn where an old sundial "tells the timely hours." Many of the rooms retain the large and simple panelling as well as the interesting doorways of early Georgian times. The ceiling of the hall is painted after the manner of Verrio, but the work is not of the first rank, and the figures appear to have been pasted, not painted, on the plaster. It is interesting as being an attempt to keep in the fashion, without having the opportunity of obtaining the help of fashionable artists.

If Leicestershire cannot boast a long array of historic houses, the notes of its huntsmen's horn can echo back from at any rate a few time-worn fronts; and let us hope that the reason why there are not more is to be found in the wealth of its squires, who have apparently always been able to rebuild as often as fashion or necessity demanded.

LEICESTERSHIRE CHURCHES IN THE TIME OF CHARLES I.

By A. Percival Moore, B.C.L.,

Registrar of the Archdeaconry of Leicester.

LEICESTERSHIRE is fortunate in its first historian, William Burton, whose history was published three years before Charles I. came to the throne. In his tours of inspection, continued for a long period, he carefully noted the armorial bearings in the windows of churches, and, in many cases, the epitaphs on the monuments. But for his purpose every chancel was but the mortuary chapel of the family which owned the manor or the great tithes. His *History of Lindley*, preserved in manuscript in the British Museum, contains no reference to the chapel,[1] and is merely a collection of copies of deeds and inquisitions post mortem relating to his family and to families allied with it, and he invokes his anathema in the accepted formula upon any one other than his successor in the family estates who should take it away. Only once or twice in the course of his history does he allude to the condition of a parish church at the time, as, for instance, when he refers to Sileby: "These are

[1] It is pleasing to record that the historian restored Lindley Chapel at his own expense. Hardly a trace of it is now remaining.

"All the church is decaied in the inside and is putt unto profane uses. The two bells and all other things hereunto belonging are taken awaie.

"21 Julii 1620 comparuit B. Hall famulus M^ri^ Burton et petiit alium diem pro reparatione."—Lindley, cap. de Higham, *Church Survey Book*, 1619.

"Nuper maximis impensis M^ri^ Will^mi^ Burton decorata et augmentata et incrementum ex intentione M^ri^ Burton receptura."—Lindley, *Church Survey Book*, 1630.

all which I saw there standing 1609, the east window of the chancell being great and large, almost broken downe, and most windowes of the church exceedingly defaced."

For information as to the fabric and furniture of churches at this period, we must search the churchwardens' accounts[1] and the records of visitations, but most of all those books which contain a chronicle of the personal inspection of churches by a bishop's commissary or archdeacon's official, or by surrogates or commissioners specially appointed by a bishop or archdeacon for that purpose. No commission is extant prior to that issued by Archdeacon Outram in 1674, but there are books preserved in the archdeaconry registry containing a record of inspections, commonly called *lustrationes ecclesiarum*, during the years 1619, 1623, 1626, 1630, 1637, 1639, 1670, and 1674.[2] Much has no doubt been lost, but also much remains, and nothing can be done within the limits of this paper beyond briefly indicating the nature of the contents of these books and transcribing the record in full in some instances by way of illustration. Of course the record is for the most part a history of omissions and defects, and the

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[1] *Wigston Magna Churchwarden's Accounts.*

"1636.

	£	s.	d.
Received of Thomas Bradwell for the old pulpit staires .	0	1	3
Paid to James Asson for realeing the chancell table .	2	16	6"

And the following is an inventory of church goods in 1635 :—

"After wee made our accompts wee delivered into the handes of Will^{m} Johnson and Robert Clarke in office all the church books and ornaments w^{ch} was delivered to us by o^{r} pdecessors, viz. a carpet-cloth, a table-cloth, a silver cup wth a cover for y^{e} communion table, two pewter flagons, a surpliss, and the keyes for the chest and the poore man's boxe, and in moneyes fourty shillings and seven pence half penny."

[2] There is what appears, from a difference in the style of the report and its greater detail, to be a record of a personal visitation by the archdeacon or his official, in July 1568, preserved in a visitation book in the registry.

"Whestone.—Thei lacke the p̄aphrasis no carpet for the commion table thei have not a deacent seate for the minister the pulpitt is not deacent two beames in the roode lofte standing still : I know no commion cuppe that thei have."

Similar reports of Blaby, Cosby, Ashby Magna, Willoughby Waterless, Claybrook, Shawell, Catthorpe, Swinford, Kimcote, Bruntingthorpe, and Peatling Magna.

positive information is limited to a few particulars, such as the names of incumbent and patron, the value of the benefice, and of the impropriation and the number of the bells, and in some cases even these matters pass without notice. A note gives the number of the bells where it is stated.[1] In only one case, Wistow, is it stated that the church possesses a clock, but the existence of a clock is necessarily to be inferred in several cases from the notice taken of a defect which is required to be remedied.[2] There are but two cases where the condition of the fabric and furniture of the church receives almost unqualified approval, viz. Theddingworth in 1630, "Bene ornata sunt omnia et in promptis uno excepto libro homiliarum," and Kirby Mallory in 1637, "Omnia bene save that the churchyard is in some parte of it fenced with a dead hedge." At Leire in 1633, "The chancell windowes are broken, the roofe of the chancell is in decay in the tymber worke, a grave in the chancell wants covering;" at Knipton in 1633, "The great windowe of the east end of the chancell is all cracked and cloven in the topp and bottom. The leades of the chancell are in decay." These instances are typical. The lay impropriator or the lessee of the

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[1] Husbands Bosworth and Shawell had five bells. Cold Overton, Gilmorton, Hallaton, North Kilworth, Kimcote, Narborough, Sheepy, Stockerston, and Theddingworth had four bells. Ashby Magna had four bells, "whereof one a little bell." South Kilworth had three bells and a "tintinnabulum." St. Mary in Arden had four bells and a little bell. Swinford had four bells and a "tintinnabulum."

Barwell, Earl Shilton, Heather, Higham, Ibstock, Loddington, Orton-on-the-Hill, Owston, Shackerston, and Twycross had three bells. Knossington had two bells and a little bell. Cotesbach and Dadlington had two bells and a little bell. Congerston had two bells, and there is the following note: "Tintinnabulum per 20 annos ablatum furto." At Gumley a sanctus bell is spoken of as wanting ropes, and it is remarked that Newton Harcourt had only one bell, while Blaston (Chapel of Hallaton) had none.

[2] It appears from a presentment at Bishop Sanderson's visitation in 1662 that "there was formerly a little bell (doubtless the sanctus bell) that was sould for the towne's use to buy a clocke," at Frisby on the Wreake.

Nicholas Sharpe was cited, appeared, and deposed that the bell was sold by the consent of the parishioners for £3 and a clock purchased for £6, the balance required being raised by subscription.

There were clocks at Ashby Magna, Castle Donnington, Coleorton, Fenny Drayton, Gilmorton, Humberston, Kilworth, Somerby, Wanlip, and Wigston.

rectory was cited, ordered to execute the repairs within a given time, and on production of a certificate from vicar and churchwardens or on his oath that the repairs had been executed, released from further attendance at the court. But there are several cases in which the lay impropriator or lessee could not be personally served with a citation, and the citation was fixed on the door of his house or of the church (quæsitus viis et modis), and sometimes he never appeared. It is impossible to say whether any subsequent step was taken after he was excommunicated for contumacy, and whether a significavit was issued after forty days, and he was apprehended on a royal writ. Documents of this class for this date either do not exist at the Public Record Office or have not yet been arranged so that they can be produced to a searcher. It is very doubtful how far the aid of the secular arm could be successfully invoked by the local ecclesiastical courts against a powerful offender. The case of Sir Gilbert Alington (Gardiner's *History*, vol. vii. p. 251) shows that the Court of Common Pleas would sometimes grant a writ of prohibition without any reasonable cause, even in a case in which an ecclesiastical court had undoubted jurisdiction. It is more difficult to explain why some rectors, like Mr. Woodcock, the rector and patron of Gilmorton, so long evaded the orders of the court. No doubt a rector's successor might take proceedings against his predecessor's executor to recover the amount due for dilapidations. A suit was instituted by Maurice Berkeley, the new rector of Segrave, against William Burton, the historian, as executor of Robert Burton. It is interesting to see from the depositions that the author of the *Anatomy of Melancholy* built a new room and enlarged the hall of the rectory, and, moreover, paid a glazier seven shillings and sixpence a year to mend the glass in the windows of the chancel. Cassibilan Burton, his nephew, who has left behind him proofs of his scholarly pursuits, seems to have resided with him for some time at the rectory.

It is useless to accumulate instances of the repairs required in the fabric of the churches. The records of inspections transcribed below must suffice. The court was more successful in compelling churchwardens than lay impropriators to execute repairs in a reasonable time. Some notes of cases in which churchwardens took proceedings to recover assessments for church expenses are given in an Appendix. They are chiefly interesting for the information which can be obtained from them as to the cultivation and tenure of land at the time. A word ought to be said about the law as to the repair of chapels. We find, for instance, that Mr. Wollaston, the owner of the great tithes, was compelled to repair the chancel of the chapel of Shenton. On the other hand, Mr. Rigby, the lessee under Sir Thomas Beaumont (who from a deposition by him in a tithe case appears to have been for many years a prisoner in the Fleet), after executing the orders of the court as to the repairs of the chancel of Thurnby, was cited as to the chancel of Stoughton, a chapelry of that parish, and there is the following entry in the book: "16 Jan. 1633, comparuit Johannes Rigby de Stoughton et allegavit that the parishioners are bound to amend the chancell. Mr. Dampier vicarius sic etiam affirmavit unde Dominus receptorem fructuum dimisit." Reference may be made to the notes in an Appendix as to a case relating to Wistow and its chapelries. As to the furniture of the church, the communion table is stated to be old and indecent at Billesdon, Bottesford, Cotesbach, Dalby, Hathern, Houghton, Segrave, Shackerston, Shenton, Skeffington, Thurnby, Tugby, and Wistow; there was no ascent to the communion table in 1639 at Arnesby, in 1638 at Burton Overy, in 1636 at Eastwell, Barkby, Melton-Mowbray, and a few other churches. At Ashby Folville in 1637, "The cōion table stands in y^e^ middle of y^e^ chauncell." There was no pulpit at Earl Shilton, Foston, and Loseby, and at Witherley "the pulpitt is very indecent, being the hollow trunk of a tree." There was no surplice at Barwell

and Worthington. At Thurnby "the surplisse is old and much torne." At Market Bosworth in 1630, "unum superpellicium quod curatus usitatius induit est nimis angustum et strictum et valde inconforme."

Many an incumbent in the early days, at any rate of the reign of Charles I., might have exclaimed on leaving his parish, like Lopez in *The Spanish Curate*:—

> "My surplice with one sleeve ye shall find there:
> For to that dearth of linen ye have driven me.
> And the old cutwork cope that hangs by geometry:
> Pray ye turn 'em carefully, they are very tender."
>
> (Beaumont and Fletcher, *The Spanish Curate*, Act III., sc. 2.)

The orders for sentences of Scripture to be placed on the walls, for windows which had been filled up or partly filled with stones and mortar to be opened out and glazed, are far too numerous to be referred to. Not the least interesting information relates to pews. A few entries are selected. At Appleby in 1630, "Desunt scamna longiora pro minoribus et parvulis domesticis parochianorum." At Birstall in 1636, "There are two close pews adjoining to the Chauncell, one of them above five foote." At Cosbie in 1633, "an undecent settle which dammeth uppe the passage of the North dore so as the p'ishioners can hardly passe by." At Hinckley in 1639, "The seates on the South side of the Chauncell are to be taken down and made answerable to those on the North side. Women are to be inhibited from sitting in the Chauncell." At Shackerstone it was decreed that William Hall, part possessor of the impropriate rectory, should have a piece of the chancel, 7 feet long and 5 feet broad, to erect a seat for himself and his wife and family. Izaak Walton mentions the desire for precedence in church as a mark of arrogance and purse-pride, "And I knew another to whom God had given health and plenty, but a wife that nature had made peevish and her husband purse-proud, and must, because she was rich and for no other virtue, sit in the highest pew in the church; which being denied she engaged her husband into

a contention for it, and at last into a lawsuit with a dogged neighbour who was as rich as he and had a wife as peevish and purse-proud as the other." As illustrating this point, the notes given in an Appendix on lawsuits with reference to seats in the churches of Loughborough and Hinckley may be referred to. We find also several references in these records of church inspections to other matters than the fabric and the furniture of the church. At the inspection of Shawell in 1626 it was recorded that John Elkington was founder of the free school in 1604, and in the same year of an Almshouse for six poor men, consisting of six bays, and that the £20 for the school was paid out of certain lands in Shawell and Newton, that 12d. apiece weekly was given to the six poor men, and 6s. 8d. at Easter, and also a black freise gown provided. At Misterton in 1626 it was noted that, "The parson hath built a very faire house at his own chardges." At Earl Shilton in 1633, "circa 20 annos elapsos fuit quædam domus in angulo zephyro boreali cemiterii pro manso curati vel schola ut aiunt usitata igni combusta quondam casu et Mr. Allen r̄cor de Kirby reliquias flammarum subtraxit in proprios usus convertit et saepius ut asseritur promisit restaurationem sive novam ædificationem." There are entries as to parish registers such as the following :—

"BILLESDON, *August 27th*, 1633.—The Register book beginneth but 1599, they saie they have endeavoured but cannot have it supplied."

It was ascertained at Redmile that land had been diverted from an ecclesiastical purpose.

"REDMYLE, 1633.—Certain land given antiently for the ringing of a bell at 4 of the clock in the morning is alienated from the donor's gift and intention and soe the bell is not rung at all, the land being committed to other uses which is a yard-land and a field."

There are few such entries in the Church Survey Books, and perhaps the invasion of church property hardly comes within the scope of this article. Nevertheless it may be of interest to extract one of the presentments at Archbishop

Laud's metropolitical visitation relating to Glenfield and its chapelries.

"BRAUNSTON, PAR: DE GLENFIELD.—The vicarage house and barne utterly ruinated belonging to the parson for his curate to live in, Sir Henrie Hastings beeinge Patrone having Possession of it.

"Halfe a yard land of glebe concealed from the Church belonging to the said house beeing in Sir Henrie Hastings his possession."

There is only one reference to books being chained—Gumley, 1619.

"They have all the books appoynted for the Church, but have them not chained, and therefore they are appoynted to chain them at the upper end of the South Ile and make a seat to sett them upon."

Mention is made of a cross decayed in the churchyard or street of Higham, Redmile, Stathern, and Stoughton. We hear of "Nowell's" Chapel at Cungerston, "Keable's" Chapel and "Swann's" Chapel at Humberstone, "Dannett's" Chapel at St. Mary's, Leicester, "Bradshaw's" Chapel at Orton-on-the-Hill, the "Town" Chapel at Stoke Golding, and "Our Ladies' Ile" at Whetstone.

Many people must have felt some curiosity as to the circumstances under which so many chapels mentioned by Burton in 1622 as "decayed and gone" fell into ruin. In some cases, no doubt, the district for some cause lost inhabitants and the chapels were no longer required. The Parish Church of Elmesthorpe fell into decay at this time for this reason. The parish was depopulated in the time of Henry VII. (Burton's *History*, p. 98), and in the reign of Charles I. the parishioners consisted of the inmates of the manor-house, then a farm-house, belonging, like the rest of the parish, to the Earl of Dover. For the first and only time the registrar is moved by the decay of the ancient church to depart from his usual style of prosaically cataloguing defects, and writes in a strain of rhetorical lamentation (1630), "Ecclesia olim fabrica bene ornata et decorata nunc in rudera penitus redacta horrenda polluta et profanata Navis substitit cum tabulato et plumbeo tecto absque campanili

absque campanis absque cancella absque sedilibus absque pavimento. . . . Ubi populi olim oraverunt nunc decumbunt porci adeo ut juxta verbum dicatur 'ubi ara nunc hara': reponuntur ibidem repagula lignea pro ovibus includendis confecta; supersunt decem fenestræ devastatæ et diruptæ: quoddam etiam remanet monumentum ex alabastro confectum insigne et ex indumentis figuratis videtur cujusdam personæ memoriam representans in angulo australi positum cineribus et pulvere penitus obductum et desecratum cum imagine faciei adeo deformatum ut non percipiatur cujus sexus formam præferebat." Whence is the proverbial saying "ubi ara ibi hara" taken? It may be compared to the following out of Marston's *Malcontent*:—

"*Mendoza.* Wherefore dost thou think churches were made?
Malevole. To scour ploughshares. I have seen oxen plough up altars *et nunc seges ubi Sion fuit.*"

However in 1632 the surrogate found that the stone and timber work had been for the most part repaired and the windows glazed, and Mrs. Brittain, the tenant of the farmhouse, deposed that orders had been given by the Earl of Dover (at the instance of Archbishop Laud) for completion of the work.

In some other instances the ruin of chapels was due to their forfeiture to the Crown under statutes of Henry VIII. and Edward VI. as chantries or free chapels and to their having been granted as lay fees to laymen.

A presentment was made in 1635 at the Bishop's visitation that the chapel of Stanton-under-Bardon was in decay, and the churchyard, in which it was proved there had been many interments, some of recent date, profaned. Proceedings were taken against a certain Crampe, but they were defeated by the production of Letters Patent from Queen Elizabeth, a copy of which is preserved in the Archdeaconry Registry. It appears from the notes of Sir John Lambe, official of the Archdeaconry, and the Archbishop's Commissary during Bishop Williams's Suspension, preserved in the Public Record Office, that he made inquiries with reference to

many of the decayed chapels mentioned by Burton, including a chapel, the name of which is undecipherable, supposed to have belonged to Loughborough, of which no mention is made elsewhere, but with little result.

At Archbishop Laud's metropolitical visitation in 1634 the following presentment was made with others of a similar character :—

"BURTON CHAPPELRY.—Mr. Iremonger for holding a chappell in Burton ruinated and turned into a dove-cot.

"29 *Aug.* 1634.—In cœdibus Mri Watts majoris ville Leic: coramp fato Ven^{li} viro Robto Aylett LL $\overline{d}$core visitatore sive commissario rev^{mi} Archiep$\overline{i}$ Cant: &c presente me W^{mo} Penn not^{rio} pub^{co} comparuit p'sonalititer $\overline{d}$cus Hen: Iremonger et All^{t} That he doth hold the said dove-cott and ground in fee farm from the Kings Ma^{tie} & showed his Lease or patent therefor Unde Dominus accepit $\overline{d}$cumque M^{rum} Iremonger salvo jure cujuscumque dimisit."

But the most important case of the kind, both from the character of the building ("the church hath a very faire tall steeple and two iles") and also the size of the parish, is the case with reference to St. Wulstan's, one of the two parish churches or a chapel of ease of Wigston "with two steeples." Extracts from depositions in this case are given in the Appendix. One is reminded in thinking of these desecrated churches of the saying of the host in Ben Jonson's *The New Inn*, Act V. scene 1 :—

> "*Host.* Where were they married?
> *Fly.* In the new stable.
> *Host.* Ominous.
> I have known many a church been made a stable,
> But not a stable made a church till now."

The use of the porch at Castle Donington suggests another quotation from the same play. Act IV. scene 2 :—

> "*Tipto.* I knew it.
> A broke-wing'd shop-keeper? I nose them straight.
> He had no father, I warrant him, that durst own him;
> Some foundling in a stall or the church porch."

From one point of view the most interesting of all the records of church inspection is that of Glenfield Parish Church. There are probably one or two survivals in

England of the churches of the Georgian era little altered, but there can certainly be no example of the interior of a church decorated in the fashion approved by Church authority in the first half of the seventeenth century.[1] We have here a complete description of the mural decoration of a church. The church itself has now passed away, and there is a new parish church on an adjoining site.

It would have been passing strange if the itch for writing on almost any substance used for a domestic purpose, in an age when books were still scarce and dear, had not left its mark on the walls of churches. It would appear from some lines in *The Spanish Curate* that there was a posy even on the poor man's box. Act III. scene 2:—

> "The poor man's box is there too. If ye find anything
> Beside the posy, and that half rubb'd out too,
> For fear it should awake too much charity,
> Give it to pious uses; that is, spend it."

Every lover exercised his ingenuity in devising posies to be inscribed on rings.[2] Massinger's lines are almost too well known to need repetition. *The Old Law*, Act IV. scene 1:—

> "*Evander.* And is that all, sir?
> *Simonides.* All I know, my Lord, save a few running admonitions upon cheese trenchers."

Even bedchambers at inns were not complete unless furnished with ballads on the walls:—

"I'll now lead you to an honest ale-house, where we shall find a cleanly room, lavender in the windows, and twenty ballads stuck about the wall."—*The Complete Angler.*

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[1] The words of the canon are not so familiar that they can be omitted here. Canon 82: "Insuper statutum et decretum sit ut Decalogus pingatur in orientali cujusque Ecclesiæ et Capellæ parte unde a populo commodissime cerni et legi possit ac aliæ lectæ scripturarum sententiæ in earundem parietibus passim in locis opportunis describantur."

[2] *As You Like It*, Act III. scene 2:—

"*Jaques.* You are full of pretty answers. Have you not been acquainted with goldsmiths' wives and conned them out of rings?

Orlando. Not so; but I answer you right painted cloth, from whence you have studied your questions."

Rules for the Tavern Academy from the Latin in Ben Jonson were engraved in marble over the chimney in his club-room at the old Devil Tavern at Temple Bar. According to the advice of George Herbert, "Even the walls (of the parson's house) are not idle, but something is written or painted there which may excite the reader to a thought of piety, especially Psalm CI., which is expressed in a fair table as being the rule of a family."

In *A Tale of a Tub*, Turfe, boasting of his triumph over Justice Bramble, says to Medley (who was a joiner by trade): "You shall work it into a story for me, neighbour Medley, over my chimney" (Ben Jonson, *A Tale of a Tub*, Act III. scene 3).

Shops, too, had their posies. Marston, *Eastward Hoe*, Act I. scene 1: "*Touchstone.* I hired me a little shop, fought low, tooke small gaines, kept no debt books, garnished my shop for want of plate with good wholesome thriftie sentences as 'Touchstone keeps thy shoppe and thy shoppe will keepe thee,' 'Light gaines make heavy purses.'"

Peter Onion, who was but a groom, when he was in love employed another servant to write a ditty for a handkerchief. *The Case is Altered*, Act IV. scene 4: "*Onion.* Well, and if I be not revenged on him, let Peter Onion (by the infernal gods) be turned to a leek or a scallion. I spake to him for a ditty for this handkerchief."

At Segrave Church an attempt was made to engrave a funeral sermon on the memory of the parishioners by writing on the wall as follows: "That which concerneth the tyme of our sorrowing here in feare was the text at the funerall." At the end of a sentence on the other side was written: "This and out of this was the text of two sermons the next day after the funeral."

If we are to take the words of the sexton in *The Spanish Curate*, who deluded the avaricious lawyer by dictating a pretended Will in which he affected to dispose of his hoarded savings, as an authority on the subject, the

inscriptions on church walls were not distinguished for good spelling:—

> "Two hundred ducats more to mend the Chancel
> And to paint true orthography, as many
> They write sunt with a c, which is abominable."

George Herbert, in the *Country Parson* just referred to, recommends an incumbent to have an eye to the conduct of his parishioners in church, and even to make presentments to the court of their ill-behaviour when the offenders were persons of such rank that the churchwardens feared to do so. The following letter, which has been preserved among the depositions in a lawsuit in the Archdeaconry Registry, shows that some Leicestershire incumbents at this time were ready enough to do this with a severity which the parson of Bemerton would hardly have approved.

Letter of R. LANGHAM *to* Mr. REG. BURDIN (*a Surrogate*).

"Sr.—A parishioner of mine, one Nicholas Mott of Normanton, one of y^e^ foure that I have sued in y^e^ beginning of the businesse betweene y^e^ Earle & mee for my Tithes hath oftentimes (as will bee proved by one witnesse) abused mee concerning my priest hood, as First, that I ever preached out of malice. Secondly, That it was true hee speakes good words, but Charity begins at home. Let us see the good he doth. 3rdly, That standing in my seate in y^e^ Chancell (as sometimes I doe) to observe how my people resort to y^e^ Church, hee saies I looke through y^e^ grates as a lyon uppon dogges & Beares, and fourthly, that when I come up the Church at y^e^ entrance of the Chancell dore (doeing my humble duty towards y^e^ aultar) Doe you not see (saith hee) how he worships stocks and stones?

"Whether I shall deale with him only in y^e^ Court at Leicester or in y^e^ High Commission I leave to your wisdom. If you please to send a summons for Leicester I shall be well content. I heare not yet y^e^ Earle hath done any thing this tearme but tends to a private end. Herein your Councell Harty love & thanks. I rest this 7th of December 1639.—Your obliged friend,

"Bottesford. RIC. LANGHM̄.

"I pray you Let a summons come speedily, Let Mr. Cokar be for me and Let mee know (if I may) the first Court day after Christmas and whether you intend to be there then."

No doubt also in many parishes a counter scrutiny was kept up by a churchwarden on the parson's behaviour.

Mr. Clayton, the rector of Shawell, was a Puritan who, according to Sir John Lambe's notes, had beaten down the stained glass in the windows. He evaded, mainly by means of a false certificate, the order given by Bishop Williams at his visitation, 1635, for the railing in of the communion table at the east end of the chancel and providing kneeling benches, and made use of the high pews for distributing the elements where his gestures could not be seen inside the pews, not only to his own parishioners but to strangers. It appears from the depositions that one of the churchwardens had a book of canons which he carefully read on those occasions when the incumbent was compelled by law to read the canons, in order to see which of them he omitted. Maypoles and morris dances were abhorrent to the Puritan, but what he detested most was the pipes and dancing. We know from the dramatists of the period that there was a piper in almost every parish. Justice Overdo says, in the course of his soliloquy in the first scene of Act. III. of *Bartholomew Fair:* "The constable ought not to break his staff and forswear the watch for one roaring night, nor the piper of the parish, *ut parvis componere magna solebam*, to put up his pipes for one rainy Sunday."

Shorthose and Humphry, the widow's servants, in Act III. scene 1 of Beaumont and Fletcher's *Wit without Money*, peevish at the prospect of a country journey, exclaim :—

> "*Humphry.* At St. Albans let all the inns be drunk. Not a host sober to bid her worship welcome!
> *Shorthose.* Not a fiddler, but all preach'd down with Puritans. No meat but legs of beef."

It was given in evidence that not only did Mr. Clayton preach enormously long sermons, prefaced and followed by extempore prayers of equal length, in order to prevent his flock having time for sports after service, but he on one occasion gave a piper two shillings for his pipes on condition he piped no more, and on another endeavoured to have him put into the stocks.

Woodhouse was a parish noted for party strife.

Roland Sympson, the apparitor for that deanery, happened to live there. He followed the service with his prayer book to note the curate's omissions, and the curate, observing this, roared out, "Cease your reading." Thurbarne, one of the churchwardens, made a presentment against Lady Herrick for Puritan practices. The proceedings appear to have been quashed by Bishop Williams, and this is one of the grounds on which he was accused of being over-lenient to Puritans.[1] Sir William Herrick retorted by charging the churchwardens with omitting to present defects in the fabric of the church. The interrogatories to be administered to the witnesses produced by Sir William Herrick are not uninteresting. An extract is here given :—

"*Item*, interrogetur whether he doth knowe or believe that this suite is comenced and prosecuted by the sd Sir Wm. Heyricke in revenge of his the sd Thurburne p'nting of the sd Ladie Heyricke his wife.

"*Item*, whether the Chappell of Woodhouse is small and whether the sd Mr. Brian hath not drawne by means of fasts and extraordinarie sermons there had and hold without lawful authoritie divers persons of other parishes and places who have thrust out the inhabitants of the sd Chapelrie out of the sd Chapell or their usual seates.

"*Item*, whether you or any of you be not afraid of the said Sir Wm. and his Lady that they or one of them will turn you out of your houses or lands or sett fynes on the same extraordinarie at their pleasure if they or anie of them do offend or displease the sd Ladie aforesaid."

This paper, with its inevitable Appendices, exceeds the limits of space imposed upon the writer, but it seemed impossible in any sketch, however slight, of the condition of the fabric and furniture of the churches of the county at this time to be entirely silent about the incumbents who preached in them and the churchwardens who were their legal custodians, or to refrain from illustrating by brief extracts from contemporary documents the unhappy dissensions which split so many parishes into two parties. The writer is convinced of the historical importance of

[1] *Calendar of State Papers*, Domestic Series, Charles I., 1631–33, pp. 274–75.

the depositions, interrogatories, and personal answers in ecclesiastical suits, and trusts that this paper may afford some proof that these documents are to be numbered amongst those relics of past centuries which deserve to be carefully preserved in the county the history of which they help to illustrate.

EXTRACTS FROM CHURCH SURVEY BOOKS

Church Survey Book, 1632, *Bredon.* — "19 Septr. D̄nus Comes Stamford, p̄nus, Mr Hen: Duckett, cur. The Church of Bredon doth consist of two equall parts, the steeple standing in the middle . . . the west part is ruinous & most of it fallen to the ground; the east part is standing, but too little for the congregac̄on for that it is a great ꝑish & very populus. That parte wch is standinge consists of two Iles, & the middle space or body of the North Ile thereof is wholely taken awaie from the use of the ꝑishioners partly by a monument. . . . Sir Thos. Shirley Kt., Sir Hen: Shirley, Barronet, and that familie & partly by a huge & strange seat built up like the skreen of a great man's . . . wch doe take up the greatest part of that Ile whereby the congregac̄on are much . . . for room, the Church being not abell to receive the congregac̄on. The north-west window of the North Ile is stopt up with wood & rubbish. The south door of that part of the Church is stopt up with seats built up to barr the passage. The surplisse is defective. The battlements of the North Ile of the Church are fallen down."

Church Survey Book, 1633, *Castle Donington.*—"Mr Manners, P̄onus, Mr Foster, vicar. The chancell is all full of rubbish and durte. Two windowes on the south side of the chancell stopt up with lyme and mortar. The chancell wants whiting and painting. The battlements of the east end of the Chancell are fallen down and an Ivey groweth up the wall and perissheth it. The dore out of the Chancell into the vestry stopt up. The c̄oion table standeth in the body

of the Church and not in the Chancell, where it ought to stand. The floore of the Middle Ile is broken up in manie places. The roofe of the Church at the west end towards the belfry uncov^ed^: the glasse windowes broken. A windowe next the bellfry in the South Ile of the Church is half stopt up with borde. The clocke is out of time and doth not goe. The minister's seat for the reading of divine service standeth in the middle space of the Church, w^ch^ is to be removed and adjoyned to the pulpitt. The font wants a decent and comely cover. A grave in the North Ile is uncov^ed^. William Allt and Isabel his wife do inhabite the Church Porch."

Church Survey Book, 1636–37, *Gaddesby*.—"31 Oct. 1637. Eccl̄ia ībm lustrata ꝑ M̄rum Angell Surr̄um ꝑnte notario pub^co^ ꝑdc̄o. That y^e^ crosse Ile at y^e^ upper end of the Church is stopped up on the north part by a particon and stepps going up into the pulpitt w^ch^ are to be taken away. The seate belonging to M^r^ Pilkington at y^e^ upper end of the North Ile stands out a foot too much dispporc̄onately and ought to be made even with M^r^ Squire's. The reading-desk stands in y^e^ middle of the upper end of the Middle Isle shadowing y^e^ cōion table & may more conveniently be placed under the pulpitt. There wants a ledge round about the pulpitt. The clarke's seat is to be opposite to y^e^ m̄ister's at y^e^ south piller of y^e^ upper end of the Middle Isle.

"Other seates to be reduced in height. The seats in the South Isle next y^e^ south dore to be taken downe a foot and a halfe, and a stepp a foot high to be raised round about y^e^ font, y^e^ breadth according to y^e^ discretion of the ꝑishioners."

Henrie Pilkington, 4^th^ Oct., quæsit: viis after many citations and adjournments. 30 Julii 1638, again quæsit: viis.

Church Survey Book, 1636–39, *Glenfield*.—"Lustracio ecc̄lie parochialis de Glenfield tent: vicesimo octavo die mensis Januarii Anno Dei 1639 ꝑ m̄ros Willmum Berredge

et Willm̄um Crofte Clicos Surrogatos Ven: et egregii viri Dn̄i Johis Lambe militis ac legum doctoris dni Arch: Leic: offic: l̄time constitut: p̄nte me Joh̄e Fowler notario pubco.

"There wanteth a bell in the steeple which is remaininge in the bell-free unhanged wanting a clapper: the seates on the north side of the church want bordinge likewise the bords in the seates on the south side want repairinge. Part of the south Ile wants paving with brick. Over the clock on the south side of the said church is written 'Hic jacet fundator eccl̄ie' and above the jame (jamb) on the east side thereof is the picture of a piller made with this sentence upon itt, 'Above all these things put on charity which is the bond of p̄fectneſse,' and on the west side thereof another pictured piller with this inscription, 'Before thou prayest prepaire thyselfe and be not as one that tempteth the Lord,' Eccl̄us 8, 23. Upon the south side of the said church there is written this inscription, 'When you pray say our Father,' on the east side is pictured our Saviour Christ in His humanity, and on the west side thereof the two Maries, with vales on their heads, upon their knees as though they were praying: upon the north side of the said church is written the Apostles' Creed with the twelve Apostles pictured round about the same each other (*sic*) havinge his name subscribed: adjoyning to the windowe on the north side of the said church is an inscription upon the west side of the same, 'You serpents, you generac̄on of vipers, how can you escape the damnation of Hell,' Mat. 23, 38, and on the other side of the said window eastward, 'Children, obey your parents,' on the east end of the chancell on the south side of the window thereof is picktured St. John with his name subscribed St. John, and on the north side thereof is picktured our Saviour Christ upon the Croſse bleeding, wth this inscription, J N R J, and under the said windowe oꝰ the com̄union table is written, 'O Com let us worsh̄p and fall downe and kneel before the Lord our Maker.' The windowe on

the south side of the said chancell wants glaſsing being lately blowen downe by this last storm by Mr. Dixon alleged on the north side in the chancell nigh to the rayles of the comon table there are standing against the wall ancient monuments in allablaster of the house of Glenfield and Fuljhurst so itt is reported. On the north dore of the church of Glenfield inside is written this sentence of Scripture, 'Put of thy shooes from of thy foote for the place whereon thou standest is holy ground,' Exod. 3, 5: and on the south dore, 'This is none other but the House of God and this is the gate of Heaven,' Gen. 28. In the south side of the church adjoyninge to the bell-free is this sentence written, 'The hart of fooles is in their mouthe, but the mouthe of the wise is in their hart,' Eccl. 21, 26; in the end of the bell-free, 'Remember to die.' The south dore wants a lock and keye. The North Church Porch is much in decay: the rayles on the west end of the church-yard are to lowe and not agreeable in height to the rest and are rotten: the South Church Porch wants pavinge and settles on each side and the sides thereof bording. There wants an other flagon for the comunion table of the like proporcion to that which is here allready. There wants a fittinge and decent cloath for the comunion table and another for the pulpitt. The Church bible wants byndinge: there wants a new comon prayer booke and a poore man's box and three seᵛall lockes and keyes for the chest for keepinge the Register booke: there wants a clean napkin for to cover the bread at the holy comunion. According to allegacon made by Mr. Dixon the Rector and Mr. Styan the churchwarden the Church and Chancel was began to be beautifyed in the absence of the said Mr. Dixon beinge then att London and that the painter ꝑmised to beautifie the said Church and Chauncell decently and like other churches and chappells wᶜʰ he had before seen & beautified and that if this Church and Chauncell of Glenfield were in any ꝑte defective or disliked by reason of the paintinge or beautifyinge that he the said painter would amend any

default whatsoever att the same rate that he was hyred and thereupon came to the Incumbent Mr. Dixon on the last Sondaye and desired to know whether the said Church and Chauncell were approved for the paintinge thereof that he might p̄fect his worke begunn or alter anythinge amiſs. Therefore it is desired by the said Mr. Dixon and Mr. Styan that the judgement of the Court maye be declared."

Church Survey Book, 1619, *Horninghold.*—"The pulpitt wants a cover. Three windows on the south, three on the north & one on the belfry half stopped up. P̄te of the Lady Turpin's her mayde's seat unborded being the uppermost woman's seat on the North Chancell wholly unpaved.

"It was built within these last xii yeares past and made a great deal leſs: it is now about xvii foot high and xii broad culpa Dn̄e Turpin.

Church Survey Book, 1626, *Horninghold.*—"Roger Vaudril Vic. vicaria valet p̄ ann̄ xii^{li} rcoria impropriate valet 50^{li}. My Lady Turpin hath it and is patroness. Cōicants 100.

"Mr. Chambers sometimes preacheth. The Vic. preacheth not, but catechiseth and readeth homilies.

"He is monished to exhibite his terrier the next vis: and to procure monthly sermons."

Church Survey Book, 1633, *Houghton.*—"M^r S^t John Burrough, r̄cor; Sir Brian Cave, Patron. The east window of the Chancell broken in the stonework and parte of the leade of the Chancell in decaie. A grave in the Chancell uncov̄ed. The Communion Table in the Chancell but an old table indecent stands in the North Isle of the Church w^{ch} they saie is the cōion table. A sufficient cōion table to be p̄vided and placed in the Chancell. The windows of the Chancell in some places broken. The south and north alley of the Church want paveing. The cover of the Beare is broken. The Town-plow is laid up in the South Isle of the Church. The book of homilies, Jewell's works, book of canons and register-book not seen, the churchwardens

being absent. The churchyard gate is broken down. The Rector cited.

"10 Septr 1634.—Rector verbo sacerdotis afft ōia esse reparata."

Church Survey Book, 1619, *Husbands Bosworth.*—"The North Porch much out of repair in the tiling & it raineth verie much: p̄te of the Church walls near the school-house dore wants mending.

"A chappell on the north side of the Church where a school is kept wants paveing in the bothā & whiteing upon the walls." Other defects noted.

Certificate produced 26 Octr 1619, by Richard Talbot, churchwarden.

Church Survey Book, *Leicester St. Martin's.*—"20 April 1638. D̄nus Roone legū doctor in visitac̄one occasione suspensionis d̄ni epī exercita commrius p̣sente me Rad̄o Croxon notario lustravit eccl̄iam et decrevit prout sequitur.

"That the particion betweene the Chancell and the body of the Church together with the pewes adjoyning to it shall be quite taken away and two-leaved dores made in the roome thereof that the space may be open that the minister may the better be seene and heard reading the second service at the c̄oion table. The tenn comandements shall be sett on the east end of the Chancell over the c̄oion table. The pewes and seats standing in the middle Isle shall be taken away. The seats that have covers over them shall have their covers taken downe. The seates that exceed four foote in height shall be cutt and made uniforme with the rest under that height."

Church Survey Book, 1619, *Lubenham.*—"Will. Hill did fetch the copes from Bowden Magna which Sir Thos Brooks had to make player's coates of.

"Inquire of this at whose hands he received them."

Church Survey Book, 1626, *Market Harborough.*—"Edwd. Perry C. & Concr sti for the cure 20li paid by the farmer of Bowden Magna towards the stip̣d for the lecture: 40 marks p̣ann: paid by the Chamber of London by the gifte

of Mr Robt Smyth late cittizen and controullr of the Chamber of London. There is a verie convenient studdy over the North Porch of the Chappell beautified by the towne at their chardge, furnished wth books likewise at their chardge, and there be some other books given by bnefcors. The Chappell hath noe fence, that is they say there is no chappell yard, for they burrie their dead at St Marie's, but they cristen and marrie all here. Coicants, 450. Their chappell and chancell coved wth lead & verie decent & in every respect in good repe saving the Chancell wants some little paveing: there wants a decent carpet for the coion table.

Church Survey Book, 1636, *Normanton*. — "Capella de Normanton infra paroch⁹ de Bottesford lustrata in exteriori parte per judicem dictum (Bayley surrogate) refertum est prout sequitur.

"The roofe thereof is covered with thatch. The chappell yard is parte of it very neere halfe pted from the rest of it with payles and converted to a place to make rickes or stacks of corne in: in a corner whereof is a hoggstye, in another corner of it a cobb of hay. There is a house built in the said yard wherein one Henry Burges dwelleth. The windowes of the Chappell are some of them stopped with straw, some with clay and some with bordes, & one with mudd. On the north side of it is a little dore made to pitch in corne by, and the chappell is said to have been long used by the Earles of Rutland for a barne, and that herein was this harvest wheat laid, but removed thence on Saturday or Monday last. The chappell yard fence (except these pales) is onely a dike.

APPENDICES

I

SADDINGTON CHURCH, 1627

ARTICLES against Thomas Horton and Henry Clerke, churchwardens at Saddington, for omitting to present at the Visitacon of the Archdeacon in 1627 ("ex eisdem billis quædam crimina sive defectus sequentia omisisti viz") the church-yard fence of Saddington aforesaid being out of repaire soe that cattle and hoggs came into the same and rooted upp the graves of dead bodies there interred; the south side of the church wall being in decaie soe that it rayned in there, the glasse windowes of the said church being broken soe that the starlings came in thereat and defiled the church and dunged on the minister's head and on the book as he was reading of divine service there; the west dore of the Belfrie being out of repaire soe that the winde and weather did beate and blowe in thereat soe violentlie that the minister was not able to read service in his seat by reason thereof. The dogges suffered to be in the Church in tyme of divine prayers and with their noise disturbing the same, and Alice Horton yo^{r} wife being a comon sleeper in the Church in service and sermon time.

Witnesses John Neale, William Draper, &c., one witness stating that at Christmas "people were faine to leave their seates w^{ch} were wet wth raine.

COSTON CHURCH REPAIRS, 1637

Thomas Smith and Gilbert Geeson, churchwardens of Coston, presented William Richardson, clerk at the Visitation Court, for not paying the levy due from him to the church. The claim was denied, and the churchwardens required to formally prove their case in the Court of Instance. The pleadings in the suit are preserved, but only a brief abstract of the

depositions can be given. Richard Lowe, husbandman and miller, deposed in effect as follows: that "the body of the church wanted repaire in ye painting and beautifieing of the same, and in ye making and setting up of ye King's Armes, and that the bellframe was loose and ye glasse windowes were broken"; that ye churchwardens did "treate and conferre of ye ruines and wants of repaire of ye church articulate, &c., and for ye charges, &c., and ye parishioners did make assessment upon the persons holding or occupyeing any land in the said parish, and the deponent was present at the assessment; that there were two levies after the rate of a penny an acre, each of which brought in about six pounds; that Wm. Richardson owned or used the crop of hay grown on a portion of the meadow called Wastmore, which meadow produced about twenty loads which deponent valued at nine shillings a load, and that the meadow was commonly reputed to be within the parish of Coston, and that other occupiers had paid the levy." The witnesses on behalf of Richardson, Thomas Morrison, William Brice, and Eustace Hopkins, husbandmen of Garthorpe, deposed that for many years "upon Crosse Monday in Rogation weeke" the minister and parishioners in their perambulations of the parish of Garthorpe had incompassed Wastmore meadow, and that for many years past the parishioners of Garthorpe had "comoned fedd and depastured their cattle with the aftermath of Wastmore, after the hay there growing had been mowed every yeare, as being in the field and common of Garthorpe."

Note.—The custom of holding yearly perambulations of the parish was of the greatest importance to prevent disputes. Most parishes probably had a certain mark which the parishioners made use of at the boundaries, as we know from the evidence in a suit against Sir Henry Hastings that the inhabitants of Kirby Muxloe did "in the form of a Buckle and Tongue, as they call it made after this manner, being the mark which is usually made at the bounds of the s^{d} chapelry."

The following presentment appears as to Coleorton parish at Archbishop Laud's Metropolitical Visitation: "The perambulac$\overline{\text{on}}$ is neglected and that is because the towne consists all of colliers who cannot be taken from their work as their minister enformeth."

QUORN CHURCH REPAIRS, 1639–1640

Articles in suit Hynman con^{o} Gard de Quorndon (John Wells and Humfrey Gresley)

According to these articles a levy was duly made in July 1638 to provide money for necessary repairs and church ornaments. All owners or occupiers of land were to pay 1d. per acre. Edward Squire had 104 acres, Wm. Squire of Woodhouse had 13½ acres, Thomas Bradshaw 61 acres. The charge against the churchwardens was "to the violacon of your oathes and the oppression of divers of the poorer sorte of the Inhabitants of Quorndon you collected far lesse." It was stated that from E. Squire only 7s., and from William Squire only 8d., and so on. 30s. was said to be the assessment of the "best comons" belonging to the chapelry, and the churchwardens were said to have received only 18s.

The charge was disproved by the production of the levy made on the whole parish—1d. an acre for land, 2d. a beast, 8d. a score of sheep. The levy made by the overseers and churchwardens for the poor after the rate of 2d. an acre for "severall ground," and a halfpenny an acre for "follo ground," 2d. a beast, and 8d. a score of sheep.

Both these original documents remain in the registry, and contain valuable information as to the holding and cultivation of the land.

NARBOROUGH CHURCH REPAIRS, 1641

Plumbe con^{o} Seele

A deponent in this suit speaks of "a small levie as for mending the bell-ropes, bread and wine for the Communion being always made by the houses, sometymes 8d. a husbandman's house and 4d. a cottier."

WISTOW CHURCH REPAIRS, 1641

Halford con^{o} Chamberlain (Impropriator of Newton Harcourt)

Evidence given by Henry Faunt, then of Claybrook, from whom Halford had bought the tithes of Wistow about thirty years before, and other witnesses also testify that Wistow chancell

had always been repaired at the joint and equal charges of the Impropriator of Newton Harcourt and the Impropriator of Wistow, and as to a covenant for payment of the salary to the curate.

Other witnesses depose that Kilby and Fleckney were also "accompted of the parish of Wistow, but pay nothing to the Church of Wistow, but neither do they burie nor marry there but at their own chappells, while at Newton Harcourt they burie at Wistow. Inhabitants of Kilby and Fleckney repaired their own chapels and chancels as often as occasion required, as also did the inhabitants of Newton Harcourt."

"The township of Wistow is inclosed, but the other hamletts lye in comon feild."

II

ST. WULLSTAN'S, GREAT WIGSTON

Proceedings were taken *ex officio* by Sir John Lambe, the ecclesiastical judge, in 1632 against Waldron and Fox, churchwardens of Great Wigston, for allowing the demolition of a part of St. Wullstan's Church and selling the lead and other materials.

Extracts from the Depositions of Witnesses

William David of Wigston Magna, husbandman, 54 yeares old, deposed (*inter alia*) that there were two iles and seats, a bellfrie and one bell; that he had heard his grandfather, William David, who died about 50 yeares before and was about 70 yeares of age, say that there was prayers or masse said or read in the Chappell upon three severall tymes in the year; that about 23 yeares before there were divers people who then dyed of the sickness buried there; he had heard Mr. Thornton read prayers there once forty yeares before . . . that there were about 500 comunicants in Wigston . . . that one of the isles was demolished by the consente of the greater pte of the inhabitants of Wigston.

Maria Hay, 86 yeares old, deposed that when she was about 10 or 11 yeares of age, dwelling in Wigston with her mother, she went and heard Sir John Savage, then Minister, read prayers

upon a Christmas day a litell before day by a torch at St. Wullstan's, but whether the said prayers were in English or lattine this deponent doth not now remember; and then after it was day the said Sir John went and read prayers at All Saints Church. . . . She remembered the burials at the time of the plague, but that since only Richard Coltman about 4 yeares before had been buried there because he said his ancestors were there buried.

William Abbott, yeoman, deposed (*inter alia*) that the overseers of the Chappell of St. Wulstan are yearlie chosen upon Easter Monday and the Churchwardens for all saints upon the day following.

Samuel Thornton, Vicar of Earnesby, 46 yeares of age, deposed (*inter alia*) that "about 26 yeares before his father being the Vicar of Wigston went one tyme to read prayers in the Chappell arlat (as he was bound to doe at certain tymes in the yeare), but he was forbidden and hindred by the parishioners whoe would not suffer him to read prayers at all, but told him that they had bought it and that it was concealed land"; that John Waldron cut the bell rope as alleged when the deponent was parish clerk of Wigston, so that he could not ring the bell any longer for service.

Sir William Faunt of Foston, 57 years of age, deposed (*inter alia*) that "the said Church or Chappell called St. Wustan's was alwaies when this deponent went to schoole there and ever since commonly called St. Wustan's Church"; as to the town of Wigston he deposed that it consisted of "two or more severall fees, for that this Deponent is Lord or owner of one part thereof comonly called the Gildable, and the Chappell standeth on another fee called the Dutchie fee; that about two years before one of his servants bought a parcel of lead from Alexander Fox one of the Churchwardens of Wigston, and deponent had heard since that the lead was taken from the said Chappell."

The facts appear to be admitted in the personal answers of Alexander Fox, John Waldron, Richard Davenport, and Thomas Bolter.

Sentence was read by Sir John Lambe on 19th September 1636.

Waldron and Fox were condemned to be punished according

to the canon and mulcted in costs which were taxed at the sum of £6.

A writ of prohibition, dated 13th June, 14th year of Chas. I., was issued addressed to Sir John Lambe on complaint of Ric Watts and Francis Smyth, churchwardens, reciting an act of 1st year of Edward VI., by which free chapels, chantries, &c., were forfeited to the Crown, and that the Chapel of St. Wulstan's in Wigston was a *libera capella*, and reciting a grant by letters patent 30th May in the 34th year of Elizabeth under the great seal of the free chapel to feoffees as a lay fee, and reciting that as a lay fee it was not subject to ecclesiastical law.

The churchwardens had been ordered by the ecclesiastical court to provide a communion table, font, and all other necessary furniture.

The church has only been rescued from desecration and the churchyard from encroachment within living memory.

III

LOUGHBOROUGH.

Suit as to a Pew[1]

Extracts from the personal answers of the Right Honble Henrie Earle of Huntingdon, Lord Hastings, and Henrie Hastings, Esq., made to the pretended positions and Articles admitted on the p̄te of Henrie Skipwith and Symon Rugeley, Esquires.

To the seaventh ptended posic̄on they answere and believe that the ar̄late Robert Moore after he had taken a lease of the Manor House aforesaid where these r̄ondents' ancestors lived and the Earle one of these R̄ondents in his infancie and minoritie was brought up and educated did alter or enlarge a seate or seates ancientlie belonging to these r̄ondents ancestors and to the said Manor House situate in the place controverted at his owne proper costes and charges in regard that in one of the seates belonging to the said Manor House one John Davenport, Esq., an-other tenant to the said Earle, did sit that he might have more space for him and his wife and familie to sitt together in which seate so

altered the said Mr. Skipwith and Mr. Rugeley have unlawfullie claymed in these rõndents title and interest to sit for which and other just causes the sd Earle made request to this Court that the sd ancient seate so altered might be (wth other inconveniences in the sd parishe Church) viewed and a convenient seate might be by the authoritie of this Court assigned to him and his Lords and possors of the sd house and manor of Loughborowe and they answere that by virtue of a Commission for the said Viewe graunted by the most Rev. Edward Lord Abp of Cant: or his Grace's Lawful Commissarie directed to Mr. Wm. Beridge, Mr. Henrie Robinson, parson of Long Whatton, Mr. Edward Blunt, and Mr. Foster, the sd Earle caused the said seate to be taken downe at reasonable tyme of the daie and prepared materialls to erect in place thereof a new seate or pew of the length and breadth assigned him by virtue of the said Commission, but believed through false suggestion the said Mr. Skipwith and Mr. Rugeley have erected a new seate or pew in the said place assigned.

To the tenth posicon they answere that there hath from ancient tyme but within ye memorie of persons living beene kept amongst the parishioners a paper booke wherein churchwardens have inserted severall sumes of money wch they have received of some of the parishioners of some formerlie for seates, after for pewes, of later tymes for formes and seates, and also of late yeares for bosses (viz. Hassocks) . . . but believe that they have not observed anie of the said settings or lettings of seates since the first making of the said book duelie, but have taken of some of the greater sort several sumes of money for higher places, of some nothing, and of others sumes as they would paye then, and when they have received anie sumes of money were accountable therefore to the parishe as they believe.

To the eleventh posicon they answere that the said manor house beinge voyd of an Inhabitant, and these rõndents being absent, the arlate Mr. Skipworth paid 11s. to the Churchwardens to have their consent to sitt in the said Mr. Moore's seate as these rõndents have heard since this suite beganne.

To the nineteenth posicon they answere that some of these Rõndents Ancestors when they pleased would some tymes sitt in

the Church and some tymes in the seates belonging to them in the said Church, and believe their ancestors or their servants or attendants used so often as they came to the parishe Church to sitt tempore divinorum in the roome, seate, or place, where the new seate is erected or part thereof and that part next adjoining the Chauncell, and so ought to have done without the consent of or payeinge money to the Churchwardens there. The document is signed by the Respondents and dated 21 October 1639.

8 June, 1640, Sentence of Reg^{d} Burdyn Surrogate in favour of the Respondents.

HINCKLEY

Suit as to right to a Pew: ONEBY *contra* SMITH *in the year* 1632.

Depositions of various witnesses proved that Mr. Bartholomew Laxton had built a seat in the year 1595 at his own cost without licence of the ordinary when he was living at the house where Smith was living in 1632, and that when Laxton sold the house to one John Swift, he left the seate which was then occupied by John Swift. A certificate was exhibited to the Court on Smith's behalf setting forth the circumstances, viz. that Bartholomew Laxton, John Swift, Francis Brookes, Alfred Wightman, and now Richard Smith had successively dwelt in the house and quietly enjoyed the seat, signed by Thomas Cleveland, the Vicar, both Churchwardens, the parish Constable, the Town Bailiff, and many parishioners. Oneby's case was that Laxton sate in so "eminent a place in the Church" because he had built it at his own cost for his personal use, and because he was reputed to be "the best man in Hinkley for gentrie qualitie, degree, or profession, and a Justice of the peace, and did usually paye in the Church repaires and other uses of publique charge much more than any other landholder in Hinkley" having land worth £200 a year, and that if Laxton allowed others to sit there after he went to the Priory House it was never meant that any succeeding owners of the cottage in which Richard Swift lived should "against and beside all good order and decencie in the Church perch themselves above other cottagers or farmers or gentlemen everie way their betters in qualitie, condicon, estate, or degree,"

and that Oneby himself who also lived in the Priory was a Counsellor at law and justice of the Peace, and had an estate as good as Laxton was entitled to sit in an eminent place in the Church, and the seat in dispute ought to be allotted to him, the seat once appropriated to the Priory having been converted to "a place for the pulpitt and minister's seate."

Sir John Lambe by his sentence read on the 6 August, 1633, decided that the pew was at the disposition of the ordinary and that the pew must be allotted to Oneby as an Esquire and Counsellor at law, and occupying a similar position to Laxton in the parish, and paying towards Church expenses more than any other parishioner, and that Richard Smith had not established a prescriptive right to the seat, and also that he was a "homo inferioris conditionis et gradus."

THE BEAUMONTS OF GRACE-DIEU

By M. Jourdain

"That name, I say, in whom the Muses meet."[1]

THE scanty ruins of Grace-Dieu, the "grand Relicke" of Bancroft, the "noble fragment" of Nichols—ruins of what must have been originally a grand and even magnificent religious house—are beautifully situated near a small brook in what was formerly a secluded spot in the centre of the great Forest of Charnwood. About 1700 the Priory was dismantled, and never again used as a place of residence.

Three sketches have been published of the ruins of Grace-Dieu. Nichols gives two little wood-cuts—one from a drawing taken in 1730, and the other from a drawing made in 1794. Portions of the ruins seem to have disappeared between these two dates.

A third drawing was made, perhaps fifty or sixty years ago,[2] writes Mr. Paget, in 1889, "and in none of these drawings can I recognise the features shown in either of the others. The two older ones are very small and rude; the third is by John Flower, and no doubt this is a truthful representation of Grace-Dieu at the time he drew it, as well as a very pleasing picture."

The remains of two corner towers and portions of a chapel and wall, lying within a little distance of the high-road that leads from Ashby-de-la-Zouch to Loughborough,

[1] Line by Francis Beaumont "Vpon the Following poems of my deare Father, Sir John Beaumont, Baronet, deceased."

[2] "The Beaumonts of Grace-Dieu," by A. H. Paget. *Trans. Leicr. Lit. and Phil. Soc.* New Quarterly Series. Pt. X., Jan. 1889.

are not in themselves of commanding interest; their claim to attention lies in their association with that "race of poets," the Beaumonts, as Thomas Bancroft, the epigrammatist, realised early in the seventeenth century:—

> "Grace-dieu, that under Charnwood stand'st alone,
> As a grand Relicke of Religion,
> I reverence thine old, but fruitfull worth,
> That lately brought such noble Beaumonts forth:
> Whose brave Heroick Muses might aspire
> To match the Anthems of the Heavenly Quire:
> The mountaines crown'd with rockey fortresses,
> And sheltering woods, secure thy happinesse,
> That highly favour'd art—though lowly plac'd—
> Of Heaven."[1]

And Wordsworth, speaking of the "ivied ruins of forlorn Grace-Dieu"—

> "Erst a religious House, which day and night
> With hymns resounded, and the chanted rite;
> And when those rites had ceased, the spot gave birth
> To honourable men of various worth"—

is moved rather with its associations as the home of the "eager child," Francis Beaumont, than with its history as a religious house.

The association of the Beaumonts with Grace-Dieu dates only from Reformation times. The foundress of the nunnery, in the reign of Henry III., and the giver of the name—*de gratiâ Dei*—was one Roesia, a member of the Leicestershire family of de Verdun, at that time residing in the adjacent village of Belton. The house was for the nuns of the Order of St. Austin, and is said to have been richly endowed. In Nichols's *Leicestershire* will be found full details of its history, from the time of its first prioress, Agnes de Gresley, to its demolition under Henry VIII. The priory was erected to accommodate a prioress and fourteen nuns, together with their servants. The priory garden and grounds were laid out on a very extensive scale

[1] *Two Bookes of Epigrammes and Epitaphs* (1639).

Ruins of Grace-Dieu Nunnery.

judging by the area enclosed by the still standing boundary wall. On 30th January 153⅝, John Beaumont, of not distant Thringston, was appointed by the King's writ to take the ecclesiastical survey of the County of Leicester, and Nichols quotes the following as an extract from a report:—

"This house standeth low in a valley upon a little brook in a solitary place, compassed round with an high and strong stone wall, within which the nuns had made a garden, in resemblance to that upon Mount Olivet, Gethsemane, whither Christ, with Peter, James, and John (a little before he was betrayed), went up to pray."

In the same report charges of *incontinentia* and *superstitio* were made against Elizabeth Hall and Catharina Ekesildina, nuns, the latter because of veneration paid to the girdle and part of the tunic of St. Francis; and Grace-Dieu, with the smaller religious houses, was suppressed in 1536. After a period of delay—perhaps a term of grace—the actual surrender took place on 27th October 1539, and in that year it was granted to Sir Humphrey Foster, Knight, who promptly conveyed it to John Beaumont.

The family of Beaumont, of which John Beaumont represented a younger branch, descended from Henry de Beaumont, first Lord Beaumont, who married, in or about the year 1309, Alicia, daughter of Alexander Comyn, Earl of Buchan, then owner of the manor and Castle of Whitwick in North Leicestershire. In 1320 Henry de Beaumont obtained from the Crown a grant of the forfeited estate of the younger Despencer at Beaumanor, near Loughborough, and here the Beaumont family resided for several generations. John, the fourth Lord Beaumont, died in 1396, leaving three sons—Henry, who succeeded to the title; Thomas, Lord of Bachuile, in Normandy; and Richard. Thomas died in 1458, leaving two sons, John and Thomas. Of these, John succeeded to the Cole Orton estate; Thomas, the second son, married Anne Moton of Peckleton, in the county of Leicester, and resided in Thringston—

probably at the old moated house, still standing,[1] known as Storden Grange; and it was his grandson, John Beaumont, who was one of the commissioners, and the first Beaumont owner of Grace-Dieu. His public career was discreditable and tortuous. In 1537 he was appointed reader at the Inner Temple, and in 1543 double reader, as a person appointed for the second time was called; in 1550 he was elected Recorder of Leicester, and in the same year Master of the Rolls.[2] "He had not, however, long sat on the bench before he abused his position for his own advantage in the grossest possible manner. He concluded a corrupt bargain (known to lawyers as champerty) with Lady Anne Powis," and not content with this piece of trickery, he endeavoured to corroborate Lady Anne's claim by forging the signature of the late Earl of Suffolk to a deed by which that nobleman purported to grant the lands in question to the lady. "He was also guilty of appropriating to his own use funds belonging to the royal revenues coming into his hands in his capacity of judge of the court of wards and liveries, and of concealing a felony committed by his servant." When he had been in office little more than a year, he was arrested on these charges and put in prison. There seems to have been no doubt of his guilt from the first; and Beaumont formally surrendered his office and admitted his defalcations, assigning by the same document all his manors, lands, goods, and chattels, with the issues and profits of the same, to the King in satisfaction of his claims. A few days later he acknowledged a fine of his lands, which were entailed upon himself and his wife, and signed a covenant to surrender his goods. "By what may have been either a curious oversight or an intentional act of grace, his wife was not made a party to the fine; by consequence on Beaumont's death, her estate tail never

[1] "Grace-Dieu and its Associations," by H. Butler Johnson (*The Antiquary*, February 1904).
[2] *Dictionary of National Biography.*

having been barred, 'survived' to her." She entered within five years thereafter upon the estate of Grace-Dieu, which her relation Henry, Earl of Huntingdon[1]—to whose father it had been granted by the King—released to her.

Of the younger of the two sons of John Beaumont, little is known but that he was a member of the Inner Temple, and died unmarried at the age of forty-two. The elder son and heir, Francis, was called to the Bar and practised with success and reputation. He represented Aldborough in the Parliament of 1572. He was elected autumn reader in the Inner Temple in the year 1581, and eight years later was called to the degree of serjeant-at-law, while in 1593 he was appointed one of the Justices of the Common Pleas. He died at Grace-Dieu 22nd April 1598, and was buried in Belton Church, leaving behind him three sons, Henry, John, and Francis, the last-named the great dramatist and associate of Fletcher. He was never knighted; and he is described in his will, made the day before his death, as esquire; the inquisition taken in the following year recounts that he was "seised of the house and site of Grace-Dieu aforesaid, of divers lands in the parish of Belton, Grace-Dieu, Meriel, Shepeshed, Osgathorpe, Thringston, and Swannington." He is described by Burton, the historian of Leicestershire (who was twenty-three when Beaumont died), as "a grave, learned, and reverend judge."

Henry, his eldest-born son, who was knighted in 1603 by James I., when that King journeyed south to assume the English crown, enjoyed his inheritance only a brief period, and, dying in 1613, was succeeded by his brother. John was born about 1582, and Dr. Grosart is of opinion that he was born "no doubt at the family-seat of Grace-Dieu." There are no entries of the baptisms of the three Beaumont brothers at Grace-Dieu, however—the explanation being "that the rite would most naturally be administered in

[1] Elizabeth Hastings, the second wife of John Beaumont, was the eldest daughter and co-heir of Sir William Hastings.

the metropolis, where the judge resided permanently"; so that it seems hardly justifiable to assume that Grace-Dieu, rather than London, was their birthplace. But the birth year of John is approximately fixed from the funeral certificates in the College of Arms, whereby we learn that he was at the time of the death of his father, "of the age of fourteen years or thereabouts." He proceeded to Oxford in 1596, and entered at Broadgates Hall—on the site of which Pembroke College now stands—which was the "principal nursery in Oxford for students of the civil and common law." All the three brothers left Oxford without taking a degree, and John, with his short-lived brother Henry, was admitted student of the Inner Temple in November 1597, but in all likelihood he soon quitted it on succeeding to the family estates on the death of his brother in 1605. Whatever was his academical progress, "in his youth," says Wood, "he applied himself to the Muses with good success," and when only in his twentieth year published his mock heroic poem, the *Metamorphosis of Tabacco*, to which were prefixed as complimentary lines the first printed verses of his brother Francis. His poems were introduced to King James by the Duke of Buckingham, as we gather from Beaumont's lines "to the Duke of Buckingham at his returne from Spaine"—

> "Your fauor first th' anointed head inclines
> To heare my rurall songs and reade my lines:
> Your voyce my reede with lofty music reares,
> To offer trembling songs to princely eares."

And his poems, loyal "even to prostration," to the Kings James and Charles, his personal ties to Buckingham and other influential patrons, no doubt account for his baronetcy in 162$\frac{6}{7}$. "Of his pursuit after knowledge in less prominent and less urgent departments,"[1] writes Dr. Grosart, we are informed in a letter to Edmund Bolton; and there are acknowledgments of help rendered by him to the good old

[1] Memorial-Introduction to Sir John Beaumont's Poems, A. B. Grosart.

historian of Leicestershire, Burton, who writes thus gracefully concerning him as "a gentleman of great learning, gravity, and worthiness, the remembrance of whom I may not here omit, for many worthy respects."[1] Similarly Anthony à Wood tells us that "the former part of his life he had fully employed in poetry; and the latter he as happily bestowed on more serious and beneficial studies (!): and had not death untimely cut him off in his middle age, he might have prov'd a patriot, being accounted at the time of his death a person of great knowledge, gravity, and worth." His "untimely death" took place, according to Anthony à Wood and all the old authorities, "in the wintertime of 1628," but in the register of burials in Westminster Abbey it stated that he was buried 19th April 1627, "in the broad aisle on the south side of the Abbey;" in any case, as his poet and friend Drayton wrote, he was removed before the storm of civil war crashed over England—

> "Heau'n was kinde, and would not let thee see
> The plagues that must vpon this Nation be;"

and though he sung the "winter storme of Civill War," he never witnessed its disasters.

Sir John Beaumont is stated in the *Dictionary of National Biography* to have been influenced by a "Puritanical tendency," a phrase misleading, unless amplified and explained, as in Dr. Grosart's memorial introduction, to the effect that "our Poet—Cavalier and Royalist though he was—had touches of the Puritan: or, to *put it in another shape*, was centrally and controllingly a Christian man, through tragic conflict and agony of penitence, a Luther, or Bunyan-like fighting 'the fight of faith,' as against the world, the flesh, and the devil." To have "touches of the Puritan" is, however, not adequately explained or translated by the evidences of central and controlling Christianity,

[1] Burton, in his preface, writes that he was "encouraged by many his good friends of worth; among whom I cannot let pass (unremembered without a thankful acknowledgment) the kind assistance and good directions of my antient and much respected friend and kinsman, John Beaumont."

of which there is indeed abundant proof in Sir John Beaumont's poems—in his "In Desolation," his "Act of Contrition," and "Of the Epiphany," for example. Two poems cancelled from the volume upon which our knowledge of nearly all his poems depends, and which have been recovered among the Stowe collection of MSS. which came into the British Museum from the Ashburnham Library, would not have been written by a "Puritan," in the usual sense of the term, and show a fervour of feeling towards the Virgin Mary that may be claimed as Roman Catholic. Indeed, it may fairly be conjectured that the reason for the cancelling was the leaning shown in both these poems to the Roman Catholic religion. I quote the more important of the two, "On the Assumption of Our Blessed Lady"—

"Whoe is shee that assends on high
Next the heavenlye Kinge,
Round about whome Angells flie
And her prayses singe?

Who is shee that, adorned wth light,
Makes the sunne her Robe,
At whose feete the Queene of Night
Layes her changing globe?

To that Crowne direct thine eye
Which her heade attyres;
There thou mayst her name discrie
Wrytt in starry fires.

This is shee in whose pure wombe
Heav'ns Prince remain'd;
Therefore in no earthly Tombe
Cann shee be contayned.

Heaven she was w^{ch} held the fire
Whence the world tooke light,
And to heav'n doth now aspire,
Fflames wth fflames to unite.

Shee that did soe clearly shyne
When our day begunne,
See how bright her beames decline
Now shee sytts wth the sunne."[1]

[1] Quoted in *The Athenæum*, 19th October 1889.

"Sir John Beaumont," writes Winstanley, "was one who drank as deep draughts of Helicon as any of that age, . . . though not many of his works are extant." What was no doubt his supreme gift to the world, a poem entitled "The Crown of Thorns," which was admired by Shakespeare's Earl of Southampton in manuscript, has unfortunately disappeared. Lately the peculiarities of his prosody have drawn attention to his surviving work. The heroic couplet, his favourite measure, was used by him with a success and smoothness hitherto unprecedented. Bosworth Field, the scene of the battle of which his principal poem gives a vaguely epical narrative, lay close to the poet's house at Grace-Dieu, in "rocky Charnwood." "The preserving fragrance" of his book must be sought for, not in his secular, but in his sacred poems, those "pious relishes of things divine" which are touched with a high devotion, and characterised by delicate literary skill and judgment. It has been stated by Dyce and others that Sir John's poetry belonged solely to his youth; but the dates and names of various of his elegies and other verses disprove this. He seems to have written poetry to the close. His life was characterised by a yearning after that poets' fame which, sole of earthly gifts, outlasts death; and his intimate friend Michael Drayton refers to the poet's thirst for celebrity:—

> "Thy care for that which was not worth thy breath
> Brought on too soon thy much lamented death."

Sir John Beaumont lived in Leicestershire for many years as a bachelor, being one "who never felt Love's dreadful arrow," but in process of time became a tardy victim, and married a lady of the family of Fortescue. By her he had four sons—John, Francis, Gervase, and Thomas. Sir John, who succeeded his father, fell at the siege of Gloucester, in the service of King Charles, in 1644. He was a man of extraordinary strength, and it was reported by old men who knew him that "he did leap sixteen feet at

one leap, and would commonly, at a stand-leap, jump over a high, long table in the hall, light on a settle beyond the table, and raise himself straight up."[1] He was not without some literary taste. To him we owe the edition of his father's poems, in which, as he modestly writes in his dedication to the King, he had "only endeavoured without art to set this jewell and render it apt for your Majestie's acceptance." Two poems, "relatively rather than intrinsically of value," of the younger Sir John Beaumont, are printed in the appendix of Dr. Grosart's edition of the poems of the elder worthy. The first is addressed to the memory of Ben Jonson, the "great refiner of our Poesie"; the second, uncouth and halting, reminds us that it appeared in the same volume as Milton's *Lycidas*, the "Obsequies to the memorie of Mr. Edward King, Anno Dom. 1638." Francis, sometimes confused with his more famous uncle, became a Jesuit; a poem to his father appears prefaced to the posthumous edition of Sir John's poems. Gervase died in his seventh year, and the youngest son, Thomas, ultimately came into possession of the family estates and title.

The more famous Francis Beaumont,[2] third son of Francis Beaumont, Judge of the Common Pleas, was perhaps born at Grace-Dieu, but evidence for this, as in the case of his brothers, is lacking. Thomas Bancroft, in his *Epigrams*,[3] expressly connects all the well-known members of this brilliant family with Grace-Dieu in the lines—

> "Grace-Dieu, that under Charnwood stand'st alone . . .
> That lately brought such noble Beaumonts forth;"

but this by itself is hardly conclusive. He was educated at Broadgates Hall, Oxford, but on the death of his father in the second year of his academic course at Oxford he, with his brothers, abruptly left the University without

[1] Nichols, iii., Pt. 2nd, p. 659.
[2] 1584–1616.
[3] Book i., Ep. 81.

Ruins of Grace-Dieu Nunnery.

taking his degree. He was "entered a member of the Inner Temple, 3 Nov. 1600," but no evidence remains that he pursued his legal studies;[1] indeed it may be suspected that he was more frequently to be found at the "Mermaid," in the company of his bosom friends, Drayton and Ben Jonson, than in chambers. Drayton, in his epistle to Reynolds "Of Poets and Poetry," writes of his poet-friends:—

> "Then the two Beaumonts and my Browne arose,
> My dear companions, whom I freely chose
> My bosom friends; and in their several ways
> Rightly born poets, and in these last days
> Men of much note, and no less nobler parts,
> Such as have freely told to me their hearts,
> As I have mine to them."

Francis's first known attempt is the slight poem prefaced to his brother's *Metamorphosis of Tabacco* (1602); later in the same year he published his "voluptuous and voluminous" *Salmacis and Hermaphroditus*. Those who remember Wordsworth's lines to the memory of the eager child who played among the rocks and woodlands of Grace-Dieu, may doubt "whether the boy's first verses were of the peaceful and pastoral nature attributed to them by the great Laureate of the Lakes."[2] Early in 1613 he wrote a masque for the Inner Temple. His friendship for Ben Jonson is immortalised in a beautiful commendatory poem prefixed to Jonson's *The Fox* (acted in 1605), but there is no record of the circumstances under which he met his far more intimate friend Fletcher. Dyce suggests that it is possible that the "Dioscuri of English poetry" first met by the good offices of Jonson. The bachelor household of Beaumont and Fletcher, conducted on thoroughly communistic principles, has been described by Aubrey. "There was," he writes, "a wonderfull consimility of phansy between him [Beaumont] and Mr. Jo.

[1] *Dictionary of National Biography.*
[2] "Beaumont and Fletcher" (by A. C. Swinburne), *Encyclopædia Britannica.*

Fletcher, which caused that dearnessse of friendship between them. . . . They lived together on the Banke side [in Southwark], not far from the playhouse (Globe), both batchelors, lay together, and had one wench in the house between them, which they did so admire, the same cloaths and cloake, etc., between them."[1] The writer in the *Dictionary of National Biography* speculates that "Beaumont, on his occasional retirements from the capital to Grace-Dieu, apparently carried Fletcher with him," and Master Francis Beaumont's Letter to Ben Jonson ("written before he and Master Fletcher came to London with two of the precedent comedies, then not finished, which deferred their merry meetings at the Mermaid"), most probably written from Leicestershire, leaves the impression that the two friends were together, but the poet merely speaks of himself as being in the country, dreaming "of your full Mermaid wine." It contains the famous and often-quoted description of the things "done at the Mermaid," and the wit-combats between Shakespeare, Jonson, and their fellows. It seems to be agreed that Beaumont married, "about 1613,"[2] Ursula, daughter and co-heiress of Henry Isley, of Sundridge, in Kent, an ancient, though decayed house; but their married life was a brief one, the poet dying March 6, 1615–16.[3] He was buried, like his elder brother, in Westminster Abbey; and, as his elder brother's death had been ascribed by Drayton to a "fiery spirit" or overwrought body, so was Francis Beaumont's fate ascribed by Bishop Corbet to the disease of wit.

> "So dearly hast thou bought thy precious lines,
> Their praise grew softly, as thy life declines;
> Beaumont is dead, by whose sole death appears
> Wit's a disease consumes men in few years."

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[1] *Letters*, ii., Part I., p. 236. [2] Dyce, i.

[3] Two daughters were their issue: Elizabeth and Frances, who "was living at a great age in Leicestershire in 1700, and then receiving a pension of £100 from the Duke of Ormond, in whose family she had been domesticated."

The Sir John Beaumont who fell at the siege of Gloucester was succeeded in the title and estates by his brother Thomas. In 1645 the King rode past the Priory to his final defeat at Naseby. One of his officers, a certain R. Symonds, left behind him a MS. journal, entitled "The Marchings and Movings and Actions of the Royal Army, His Majesty being personally present from his coming out of Winter Quarters at Oxford to the end of August following."

"*Tuesday, May* 27, 1645.

"His Majesty marched to Ashby-de-la-Zouche.

"Wednesday, May 28th. His Majesty marched with his army neare Cole Orton, a garrison of the enemyes, then by the Abbey of Grâce-Dieu, where Sir Thomas Beaumont lives. There remaynes an entire church, with cloisters, hall, et cet.

"His Majesty lay this night at Sir Henry Skipwith's, called Cotes."

Sir Thomas Beaumont died in 1686 without male issue, and the baronetcy consequently became extinct. Cecily, the eldest of his five daughters, inherited Grace-Dieu, and married a relative, Robert Beaumont, of Barrow-upon-Trent, who sold the Priory and surrounding estate to Sir Ambrose Philipps, of Garendon, whose lineal descendant, Everard de Lisle, Esq., owns the manor at the present time.

VESTIGES OF PAGANISM IN LEICESTERSHIRE

By Charles J. Billson, M.A.

THERE are few districts in England, as we may safely infer from the evidence of place-names, which were so completely occupied by Saxon and Danish conquerors as the county of Leicester. Many a village still bears the name of some forgotten Viking, an Ingvar or a Sumorlida,[1] who made himself master of the place more than a thousand years ago. And the Englishman, as Dr. S. Evans observed, is everywhere in Leicestershire. "The families who claimed descent from the mythic and half-mythic chiefs of old-world Saxondom have conferred their patronymics on the colonies they planted in the midst of the common land—king and alderman and thane of later days, bishop and abbot and saint, the earl who owned and the churl who tilled, have all left their stamp upon the soil. The 'ingtons,' the 'tons,' and the 'stons,' the 'worths,' and the 'hams,' are strewn thick and threefold over all the land except within the forest boundaries."[2]

It might have been expected, therefore, that the relics and echoes of old religion which are still to be heard sounding faintly in the popular tradition and customs of Leicestershire, would recall mainly the pagan beliefs and practices of our Teutonic forefathers. And inasmuch as the early British were dwellers on the high "tors" of

[1] Names preserved in Ingarsby and Somerby.

[2] *Leicestershire Words, Phrases, and Proverbs* (English Dialect Society, 1881), p. 39.

Charnwood Forest for so long a time, that Leicestershire has been classed by one competent authority among those counties which are "as Celtic as Perthshire and North Munster,"[1] one might also expect to find many traces of Celtic mythology. But neither of these expectations is realised. Relics of the Celtic faith are quite rare, and the remains of Teutonic religion are even less common. It would seem that both mentally and physically the oldest type has proved the most persistent. The tall, fair man, the man of German or Gaulish blood, is perhaps hardly so common in this county as the short, dark-haired, dark-eyed man, who still perpetuates mainly that prehistoric race who lived here before the coming of the Celt. And it is probable that most of the faint vestiges of pre-Christian religion which survive in Leicestershire may be referred to the same remote and forgotten ancestry.

However this may be, it is not easy, at any rate, to earmark any of these age-worn relics as distinctively British. The tradition which associates the name of King Lear with the foundation of Leicester may indeed point to the ancient connection of that city with the worship of Celtic gods. The name which the British gave to their fortified post at this spot seems to have been Caer-Lerion, or Caer-Leir, afterwards translated into the Saxon Legra-ceaster. Now the river which flows through Leicester, known to-day as the Soar, was once called the Legra or Leir;[2] and, as the names of rivers are generally older than the names of towns, it is probable that Caer-Leir took its designation from its position on the banks of the Leir, the prefix "Caer" denoting that it was the main enclosure on that river. There was, in fact, another settlement near to the head of the stream which seems also to have taken the name, and which is still known as the village of Leire.[3] The name Leir, or Llyr, is that of the Celtic

[1] Nicholson's *Keltic Researches*, 1904 (Preface).
[2] William of Malmesbury. *Gesta Pontificum*, 176.
[3] Called Legre in Domesday.

sea-god or water-spirit, who afterwards, falling upon other times, became transfigured into a mythical King of Britain; and this King Leir, or Lear, was associated in tradition both with the river and the town. In the fabulous pages of old chroniclers he is said to have been buried at Leicester "in a cave under the river Soar which was formerly a temple of Janus, where all the workmen of the city, upon the anniversary solemnity of that festival, used to begin their yearly labours."[1] Elsewhere it is recorded that King Lear built in Leicester a temple of Janus, in which he was buried. There was a cave just outside the town in which, according to an old tradition preserved in Nichols' *History*, King Lear was said to have hidden from his enemies. Such legends as these might well have arisen from dim and dwindled memories of the establishment at Caer-Leir of the worship of the god Llyr, for Llyr is known to have been one of the chief deities reverenced by the inland Celts.

Another god worshipped by the British was the sky-god Lludd, who may once have reigned in Lud-gate, near the spot where the Cathedral of St. Paul stands now,[2] and who, like Llyr, was transformed in later days into a British king. A dim memorial of this bygone cult may perhaps be found between Saltby and Croxton, in the east of Leicestershire, where there is a long, double mound of earth, with a tumulus at each end of it, known from time immemorial as "King Lud's Entrenchments," or "King Lud's Rents." One of the tumuli, on being opened by the first Duke of Rutland, was found to be full of bones, but what kind of bones they were I do not know.

The wife of Lludd was called Anna, a form of the world-wide word which stands for "mother." She is thought to have been the partner of the Celtic Zeus in his dark or chthonian character, dwelling underground, and to this day there lingers in Leicester a survival attributed to the

[1] Geoffrey of Monmouth, *Hist. Brit*, ii. c. 14.
[2] Rhŷs, *Celtic Folk-Lore*, vol. ii. p. 448.

memory of this goddess.[1] She is still known as Anna, "Black Anna," or "Cat Anna," and was described a few years ago by some warehouse girls as "a witch who lives in the cellars under the castle"; and they said that there is an underground passage from the cellars to the Dane Hills, along which she runs. It was, in fact, on the low hills which rise on the west side of Leicester, now called the Dane Hills, but probably known to the British as "Dunes," that Black Anna held her ancient sway. "On the side of one of the knolls of this formerly wild district was a round cave, of diameter of ten or twelve feet and height about five, excavated from the sandstone strata." This cave was known by the name of "Black Anna's Bower," or "Black Annis' Bower," and the piece of land in which it stood is described in modern and ancient deeds of conveyance as "Black Anna's Bower Close." "Black Anna," wrote the late Mr. William Kelly in the year 1874, "was said to be in the habit of crouching among the branches of the old pollard oak (the last remnant of the forest), which grew in the cleft of the rock over the mouth of her cave or 'bower,' ever ready to spring like a wild beast on any stray children passing below. The cave she was traditionally said to have dug out of the solid rock with her finger-nails. On my last visit to the Bower Close, now several years ago, the trunk of the old tree was then standing, but I know not if it still remains. At that time, and long previously, the mouth of the cave was closed, but in my schooldays it was open." Children who went to run on the Dane Hills were warned that Black Anna lay in wait to snatch them away to her "bower," and fearsome stories were told of little ones whom she had actually "scratched to death with her claws, sucked their blood, and hung up their skins to dry."

It is perhaps not surprising that some traces of the reverential awe once associated with the rites of this dark

[1] See Mr. A. B. Cook, "The European Sky-God," in *Folk-Lore*, vol. xvii. p. 55.

Celtic goddess should have lingered, even until recent years, upon the spot where she was once worshipped, for these rites were formerly commemorated with municipal pomp and ceremony. "It had long been customary on Easter Monday," writes Throsby, the historian of Leicester, "for the Mayor and his brethren, in their scarlet gowns, attended by their proper officers, in form, to go to a certain close, called Black Annis' Bower Close, parcel of, or bordering upon, Leicester Forest, to see the diversion of hunting, or rather the trailing of a cat before a pack of hounds. . . . The morning was spent in various amusements and athletic exercises, till a dead cat, about noon, was prepared by aniseed water for commencing the mock-hunting of the hare." The cat was trailed, it appears, at the tail of a horse, in zig-zag directions, through some of the principal streets, followed by the dogs and huntsmen, until it reached the door of the Mayor's house, where a mayoral banquet was then held. This old municipal custom began to fall into disuse about the year 1767, but traces of it lingered more than a century later in an annual holiday or fair which was held on the Dane Hills on Easter Monday. It appears from the town records that the dead cat was originally a living hare, and a similar municipal custom of hunting the hare seems from the Chamberlains' records to have taken place at Whetstone, a few miles from Leicester. It was also one of the ancient customs of the city of London.[1]

Such ceremonies are quite inexplicable unless they are regarded as survivals. In the Easter procession of the City Fathers to Black Anna's venerable Bower, the slaughter of the hare—long ago degenerated into burlesque—and the concluding municipal feast, we must observe a religious significance. What can they be but formal relics, maimed and distorted, from a great annual festival of sacrifice which was celebrated once on a time by the whole community to honour and appease the goddess? Indeed, such customs

[1] *Machyn's Diary*, 1562, p. 292.

as these seem to reach back even beyond the Celtic period into a dim and distant age when the inhabitants of these islands actually worshipped the hare as a divine animal, and in the springtime held a religious procession and annual sacrifice of the god.

There is a remarkable custom still existing at Hallaton, on the eastern side of the county, which is traceable to this spring ritual of old religion. On Easter Monday in every year a procession is formed in the following order:—

Two men abreast, carrying sacks full of hare pies.

Three men abreast, carrying aloft a bottle each, two of which are filled with beer and the third is a wooden dummy.

A hare (if it can be procured) in a sitting posture, mounted on top of a pole.

The procession was also formerly accompanied by a man carrying a sack full of bread, which he threw out to be caught by the company.

This little troop, followed by the townspeople and a band of music, marches to an ancient earthwork about a quarter of a mile south of the town, consisting of a small oblong bank with a narrow trench round it and a circular hole in the centre. This is known as "Hare-pie Bank." The pies are here tumbled out of the sacks and scrambled for by the crowd. Then begins the well-known "Hallaton Bottle-Kicking." The bottles which contain beer are first thrown into the circular hollow, and then the dummy bottle, for which all scramble, and the men of Medbourne or other villagers try to wrest it from the Hallatonians' grasp, and to force it over the brook which forms the parish boundary.

It has been suggested by Mr. Elton, in his *Origins of English History*, that these strange customs are survivals of sacrificial rites connected with the worship of the Anglian goddess Eostre, who is mentioned by Bede as giving her name to the Christian festival of Easter. I have

given elsewhere reasons for rejecting this view,[1] and the evidence which I have collected tends to allocate these hare festivals to another stratum of religion altogether, linking them with those prehistoric ceremonies which have left so many traces in folk-custom, in which a sacred animal was carried round and afterwards killed and eaten in the spring of the year, either as a tribal totem or as a spirit of vegetation.

Customs similar to these exist in several parts of England, in which the hunting of the wren, the deer, the squirrel, the owl, and the ram has also been traced to a sacrificial origin. There is no "hunting" of any of these animals in Leicestershire, I believe, although the wren and the robin are still hedged with a certain sanctity, and it is, or was, thought sacrilegious by the natives to kill them.

It is probable, however, that the strictness with which bull-baiting was enforced by law in mediæval Leicester was due to pagan tradition, similar to that which prompted the "bull-running" at Stamford.[2] The Shrovetide custom of throwing at cocks in the Newark at Leicester (abolished in 1784) may also be a ritual survival, for it is a custom that is widely spread throughout England, and the cock, like the hare, is one of the three animals known to have been sacred among the British in the time of Cæsar.

It has been shown by Mr. Gomme that the legendary doves which rebuilt Breedon church on the top of a hill, carrying up every night the stones which had been placed during the day by the builders upon a lower site, represent the victims of foundation sacrifice;[3] and so, no doubt, does the mysterious agency which transferred the newly-laid stones of the church at Kibworth to their present situation. And another vestige of paganism is contained in the belief which is current in Leicestershire, that the cry of the "Signal Whistlers" (the scream of golden plovers, swifts,

[1] See "The Easter Hare," in *Folk-Lore*, vol. iii. p. 441 sqq.
[2] See *Folk-Lore*, vol. xv. p. 199.
[3] *Folk-Lore Relics of Early Village Life*, 1883, p. 43.

wild duck, geese, and other weird sounds heard in the air) is a warning of misfortune. These "seven birds that never part" are akin to the Wisht Hounds of Devonshire and the Gabriel Hounds of Yorkshire and Durham, and may be traced back to the "furious hunt" of Teutonic legend—the chase in which the wild hunter Odin, or some still more primitive deity, rides through the air, accompanied by the howling hosts of the dead.

Places which have once been hallowed by religious observances often retain their sanctity long after the rites and the religion which inspired them have passed into oblivion. The conserving force of local tradition preserves their memory by continuing to invest them with a certain atmosphere of awe and mystery. Sometimes the name by which a spot is known carries with it some memorial of the past, as may be the case with Bardon Hill, Priestly Hill, Holyoke or Holy Oaks, Mapplewell (May-pole-well), and the numerous Holy Wells; or the name may indicate the season of the ancient ritual, as in the case of the St. John's Stone, to be mentioned presently. Sometimes there is a vague tradition of some old ecclesiastical foundation unknown to history. There was a legend of this kind about the "Piper's Hole" near Eastwell, six or seven miles from Melton Mowbray, where the "professors of a religious institution" were said to have dwelt, though no remains have been found. There are a great number of these "Piper's Holes" both in Great Britain and elsewhere,[1] and they are generally associated with some story of a piper or drummer going underground and being lost. I do not think that this widespread "Pied Piper" or "Orpheus" legend has been as yet thoroughly examined, though there is a chapter on the subject in Baring Gould's *Curious Myths of the Middle Ages*, in which he attributes it to the same source as the "Seven Whistlers." We may infer, at any rate, from the extent of its vogue, that the roots of this

[1] I am told that there is another Piper's Hole in Leicestershire in the neighbourhood of Hathern.

myth lie somewhere deep down in primitive religion, and we may also conclude that the Piper's Hole at Eastwell derives its sacred tradition from pagan times.

Such dim remembrances of former holiness are often, indeed, the only indications which remain of the sacred places of antiquity. Sometimes, however, faint traces of the ancient ceremonies once connected with them still survive. Besides the hare festivals mentioned above, there are several instances in Leicestershire of fairs, races, and other kinds of merry-making held on ground that was once sacred, degenerate relics of old religious rites and tribal gatherings. Among these survivals may be classed the ancient races and sports held on Burrow Hill, the festivities kept by shepherds on the "Shepherds' Tables" adjoining Croft Hill, and the annual Wake at Nanpantan, which was held formerly on the summit of Beacon.

The most important remains of prehistoric religion found in Leicestershire are probably the two monoliths known as the St. John's Stone, or Little John's Stone, and the Hostone, or Hellstone. The former was a pillar of sandstone, originally embedded in sand, which stood in a field near Leicester Abbey, called Johnstone Close. At the beginning of the nineteenth century it was about 7 feet high, but by the year 1835 it had become reduced to about 3 feet. In 1874, according to the *British Association's Report*, it was about 2 feet high, and it has now completely disappeared.[1] A drawing of the stone, made by Mr. J. Flowers in 1815, has been reproduced in Kelly's *Royal Progresses and Visits to Leicester*.

A custom existed from time immemorial until last century of paying an annual visit to the St. John's Stone on St. John's Day, the 24th of June, when "a festival (Romish) was formerly held there, a vestige of old fire or sun-worship."[2] Children who played about it were careful to leave

[1] *British Association Report*, 1874, p. 197. Mr. Warner, who lived at Leicester Abbey, said, however, that the stone had quite disappeared by the year 1840.

[2] *British Association Report*, 1878, p. 190.

THE HOLY STONE.

before dark, for then, it was said, the fairies came to dance there. This superstition attests the religious significance of the monolith, for fairies, all the world over, continue in popular imagination to haunt ground which has once been sacred.

The Hostone or Hellstone, or, as it is often called in the neighbourhood, the Holy Stone, is a large block of granite which stands upon the crest of a high ridge of land near the village of Humberstone. The eastern slope of the ridge was formerly known as Hell Hole—a name perhaps derived, like Hellstone, from the Saxon *Hela*, and preserving the memory of ancient sacrifices. It is worth noting that all the land on the farm east of this stone is called Ost-end, and that on the west side of it is called West-end.[1] The stone lies in an artificial hollow, which was dug, I think, in the year 1878, when it was exposed for the inspection of some archæologists. There was, however, an artificial hollow long before this, for some old inhabitants living in the early years of the nineteenth century remembered a time when the stone stood about 8 or 10 feet high in an artificial fosse which was filled up in 1750. The boulder is pentagonal, the sides measuring, as I found by a recent inspection, $7\frac{1}{2}$ feet, 5 feet, 4 feet, 6 feet, and 5 feet respectively.[2] The width of the stone at its broadest point is also $7\frac{1}{2}$ feet, and its present height above the level of the surrounding ground is about 1 foot, although it is quite 3 feet above the trenched hollow in which it stands. The northern face of the stone (which measures $7\frac{1}{2}$ feet) is exactly orientated.

The Holy Stone is a great focus of tradition. There is a legend in the village that a nunnery once stood on its site, and that steps have been found communicating subterraneously with Leicester Abbey, about two or three miles distant, though no religious house or underground passage

[1] *British Association Report*, 1878, p. 190.

[2] The measurements given in the *British Association Report* for 1878 are 8 feet, 7 feet, and 5 feet.

of any kind are to be traced. It was believed that fairies inhabited the stone, and various stories were told about them. A man once heard a deep groan coming from the stone, and ran away, terrified lest he should see one of its unearthly inhabitants. No one who interfered with the venerable boulder had good fortune. A prosperous farmer who owned the land in the eighteenth century broke off a large fragment of the stone (the place where this fragment was broken off is well shown in the illustration), and consequently he died in the parish workhouse.

It has been conjectured that there was some connection between this monolith and the St. John's Stone, for it has been observed that a line drawn from the one to the other, a distance of three miles, would give the point of sunrise on Midsummer Day. It would now bear two or three degrees north of east.

That both these stones were once centres of religious worship seems clear from the general testimony of tradition, but it seems equally clear from the geological evidence that they were not both erected artificially on the sites which they occupied. The St. John's Stone certainly was a natural pillar of sandstone standing *in situ*. The other was a boulder of syenite granite, weighing from fifteen to twenty tons, which was conveyed by glacial action in remote ages from the top of Mountsorrel, $5\frac{1}{2}$ miles distant, across the valley of the Soar. It may have been deposited by the ice on its present site, but we are also free to admit that the race who built Stonehenge may have moved this gigantic block of stone into its position on the ridge, setting it up precisely to the east of the St. John Stone for religious and astronomical reasons. Upon this hypothesis, a calculation based upon its present deviation from the true east should give as nearly as possible the date of its erection. But, however this may be, the orientation of the Holy Stone itself is so accurate that it certainly looks as if it had been turned at some time or other by human labour into its present position.

This stone is marked on the Ordnance map, I may remark, as the Humber-Stone, the opinion of old antiquaries being that it was a "Druidical" *amber* or *humberd* stone, after which the village was named.[1]

Other vestiges of vanished faiths are to be found in the Holy Wells, of which there are at least a dozen in the county still bearing that name. Many others are now called after "Our Lady" or some saint, or are known as Pinnals or Pin Wells, from the votive offerings which they received. All of these are, or were, held in some repute, chiefly for real or supposed medicinal qualities, but some even yet for spiritual influences, as at Sketchley, whose well has the reputation of being able to brighten the intellect.

There still linger in Leicestershire, as elsewhere, a great number of superstitious observances which savour of paganism, and prominent among these are certain *periods of licence* which seem to have carried on the tradition of the Roman Saturnalia, and of still older religious festivals. These relics of pagan licence are generally connected with the spring, often with Shrove-tide, at which season they were once incorporated with the Carnival. At Hinckley, on Shrove Tuesday, any one was allowed, on payment of a penny, to go into the belfry and ring the bells. In several other parishes the men, and in some the women, were allowed to jangle the bells on this day. At Frisby-on-the-Wreake the master was "barred out of school" by the children, and could only gain an entrance by granting a holiday. In many other villages children were allowed special licence at Shrove-tide, and might play in fields usually deemed sacred from their intrusion. At Sapcote it was customary once a year for the young people to go round at night and collect all the mops and brooms and throw them into a horse-pit in the middle of the town. At Hallaton the children were permitted on St. Andrew's Day to lock the master out of the

[1] *Gentleman's Magazine*, 1813, pt. i., pp. 318, 319.

belfry, and ring the bells themselves. Children were allowed at Exton to play in the church on Innocents' Day.

But the most important of these survivals of pagan licence was probably that which took place every Shrove Tuesday in the Newark at Leicester. This custom, known as "Whipping Toms," survived until the year 1846, when it was abolished by Act of Parliament. It is thus described by an eye-witness: "So soon as the Pancake Bell rang, men and boys assembled with sticks having a knob or hook at the end. A wooden ball was thrown down, and two parties engaged in striving which could get the ball, by striking it with their sticks, to one end of the Newark first—those who did so were the victors. The game was called 'Hockey' or 'Shinney.' About one o'clock the Whipping Toms appeared on the scene of action. These were three men clad in blue smock frocks, with very long waggon whips, who were accompanied by three men with small bells. They commenced driving the men and boys out of the Newark. It was very dangerous sometimes; they would lash the whip in such a manner round the legs of those they were pursuing as to throw them down, which produced laughter and shouting. Some would stop, and turn to the whipper and say, 'Let's have a pennyworth,' and he would guard and parry off the blows with his shinney stick. When the whipper was successful in lashing him, he demanded his penny, and continued lashing until he paid. This was continued until five o'clock, then the game terminated."

Among other customs of pagan origin may be mentioned the time-honoured practice of "Beating the Bounds," which is still maintained in some parishes. Mr. William Kelly recollected that when the procession of boundary-beaters reached Redhill, near the Narborough Road, "a homily was read by the vicar in a part of the field surrounded by a bank of earth, after which a hole was dug, and any newly-appointed parish officer was seized, turned topsy-turvy, and his head placed in the hole, whilst his 'latter end' was saluted with the shovel." It was also usual to

flog a boy at certain points of the parish boundary, ostensibly to make him remember them. But both these proceedings suggest a very attenuated form of survival from the days of human sacrifice.

Finally, I will draw attention to the old custom of "hay-strewing" the churches at Braunston, Glenfield, Ashby Folville, Wymondham, Medbourne, Langham, and other villages; for this ceremony must, I think, have been originally part of an ancient pagan festival adapted to the use of the Church. Readers of Burton's *Rush-Bearing* will recollect how closely this custom is bound up with the village "wake," and how very unecclesiastical are the processions of hay-strewers or rush-strewers, with their old-world "rush-carts" and morris dancers. And there are two features in some of the hay-strewings, not mentioned by Burton, and peculiar perhaps to Leicestershire, which certainly seem archaic. For in some cases the hay had to be strewn by hand alone, without the use of a fork; and it had to be carried from meadow to church "the way the crow flies"—that is to say, across the river, through cornfields, hedges, and ditches; and "this was annually made the occasion for a rough and boisterous holiday." All this procedure looks as primitive as that of the persons who went every Whit Monday to the Ratby Meadow. They took each from this field a small piece of grass, and tied it round and wore it in their hats, and rode in procession to the High Cross at Leicester, where they threw it among the populace. This procession also went, it seems, "as the crow flies," and passed through the river. When the riders arrived at the inn where they were to dine, the bones of the calf's head which they had eaten for breakfast were thrown under the horse of the first to arrive. The parentage of this curious custom is traditionally ascribed to John of Gaunt, but students of comparative folk-lore will be inclined to suspect a more ancient genesis. For it is certain that very few of these strange survivals are purely local in their origin. Most of them occur elsewhere

in some form or another; many of them are widely diffused the world over, and may be studied and compared in different stages of growth and decay. When this is done, the common ground from which they have sprung is generally found far back in the undying past, and most often in those savage forms of religious observance which characterised the early ages of human intelligence.

HENRY HASTINGS, LORD LOUGHBOROUGH, AND THE GREAT CIVIL WAR

By E. W. Hensman, M.A. Lond.

OF the Leicestershire gentry who took an active part in the great Civil War, Sir Arthur Hesilrige, the Earl of Stamford, Lord Grey of Groby, and Henry Hastings stand out pre-eminently.

Hesilrige, one of the five members whose attempted arrest precipitated the contest, did good service both in Parliament and in the field. His troopers, called "lobsters," from the completeness of their iron armour, distinguished themselves in Waller's fights in the south and west, and were, as Clarendon states, "the first that made any impression on the King's horse." A staunch supporter of the Self-Denying Ordinance, Governor of Newcastle, and an active member of the Independent party in the House of Commons during the later phases of the war, he did much to render Cromwell's supremacy possible; but when Cromwell became a king except for the name, Hesilrige refused to sit in the House of Peers, and demanded the abolition of the second chamber. True to his republican principles, he joined Vane in procuring the abdication of Richard Cromwell, and withstood the attempt of Lambert to subvert Parliamentary rule by a military dictatorship. He was one of those who invited Monk to come to the help of the Parliament, and when, through Monk's treachery, he was forced to see the restoration of the Stuart line, he attempted to "gain some of the old officers to make a diversion in favour of his

dear lost Commonwealth"; he was consequently committed to the Tower, where, in 1661, he died of a fever, his body worn by age and hard service, and his spirit broken by disappointed hope.

The Earl of Stamford was of the school of Essex and Manchester. A monarchist at heart, he entered into the war in the hope of limiting rather than abolishing the royal power. After the capture of Hereford and Gloucester, he commanded the Parliamentary army in the west, but when the Cornish campaign came to an inglorious end at Stratton, he withdrew from active service in the field; and he retired from the House of Lords when Cromwell's ascendancy began. He lamented the trial and execution of the King, though he seems to have done little to oppose it, and during the Commonwealth he quietly led the life of a country gentleman on his estate at Bradgate. Two months after the death of the Protector Oliver he exhibited a spasm of Royalist activity, and attempted to raise a force in Leicestershire to restore Prince Charles to the throne; but he was arrested and sent to the Tower, where he remained until the Restoration procured his release. He survived the Restoration for thirteen years, and died in 1673, having enjoyed the favour of Charles II., who, by grants of land, had partly restored his shattered fortunes.

His son Thomas, Lord Grey of Groby, and Henry Hastings, second son of the fifth Earl of Huntingdon, were men of quite a different mould. When the war broke out they were both young and hot-blooded. In the spheres of politics and religion they stood at opposite poles, and they hated each other with a venom born of private feud. Clarendon mentions their "notable animosities," and states that Leicestershire was in consequence "passionately divided enough without any other quarrel."

Very soon after the commencement of hostilities Grey was made Lord General of the Midland Association, and he might have been expected to do great things, but he was too impatient of control, too local in his patriotism, and too

narrow in his outlook to rise to the height of his opportunities. His fears for the safety of his paternal property in the neighbourhood of Leicester forbade him to join his forces with those of the Eastern Association at a critical moment of the campaign against the Earl of Newcastle, and brought upon him the stern rebuke of Cromwell, who never seems to have trusted him again, and more than once his quarrels with the Leicestershire Committee called for the intervention of Parliament. It is true that he met with some local success, and that he did good service under Essex in relieving Gloucester in September 1643, but history records no other military exploit sufficiently notable to add lustre to his name. In politics and religion he was an extreme fanatic. As Cromwell's tool, he took part in purging Parliament of the moderates, and when Pride carried out his famous *coup*, it was Grey who stood by him with the list of obnoxious members in his hand, and pointed out those who were to be refused admission to the House of Commons. His name is between Bradshaw's and Cromwell's on the King's death-warrant, and with his local forces he supplemented Cromwell's victory at Preston by defeating Hamilton's retreating horse and capturing Hamilton himself. Massey, too, surrendered to him after the Worcester fight. In 1655, however, he was imprisoned by Cromwell at Windsor for his intrigues with the Fifth Monarchy men, but his family interest and the payment of a large sum of money procured his release. Had he lived till the Restoration he would almost certainly have been executed as a regicide, but he died in 1657, and thus a second time escaped a traitor's fate.

Hastings, on the other hand, was a Royalist of the first water. He was the local hero of the war, or rather, if we adopt the attitude of the Roundheads towards him, the villain of the Leicestershire drama. Hardly a skirmish, siege, or battle took place in this or the neighbouring counties in which he did not bear a hand. Though his name is practically unknown outside his own neighbourhood,

and known none too well in Leicestershire itself, it is yet not too much to say that but for him the whole course of the war would have been changed, and the battles of Marston Moor and Naseby might never have been fought. With him, therefore, we must principally deal in this place, and in doing so we must, from considerations of space, pass over many details of interest, touching lightly on those passages in his career that have been fully dealt with by other local historians, who have generally approached the facts from the point of view of Leicester rather than Leicestershire, and dwelling at any length on those episodes only which have not hitherto received the attention which they seem to deserve.

In June 1642 Hastings joined the King at York, and, being made Sheriff of Leicestershire, strenuously endeavoured to enforce the King's Commission of Array, and to procure the arrest of Stamford, who, as Lord Lieutenant of the county, was endeavouring to enforce the Parliamentary Ordinance for the Militia. The incidents connected with his two visits to Leicester for this purpose, the visits of the King, and the compromise arranged for the distribution of the arms and ammunition belonging to the county forces, have been adequately described in Thompson's well-known *History of Leicester*, and elsewhere, and need only a passing notice here.

On the open outbreak of hostilities in September, Hastings joined Rupert in his raid on Bradgate House, and in his attempts to overawe Leicester. With him he moved off to Worcester when Charles began his westward march from Nottingham. He fought at Edgehill, where he is reported to have been wounded, whilst his elder brother, Theophilus, was on the Parliamentary side, and was one of the first who brought to London those alarmist reports which very nearly induced the Parliament to make terms with the King. Theophilus took no further part in the war, but, becoming shortly afterwards Earl of Huntingdon on his father's death, retired to the family seat at Castle Donington,

Ashby-de-la-Zouch Castle, Main Tower, looking N.N.W.

whilst Henry, soon to be Lord Loughborough,[1] fortified the mansion of Ashby-de-la-Zouch, and held it for the King.

The state of affairs at the beginning of 1643 may briefly be described as follows: For the Parliament, Leicester was held by Lord Grey, with outposts at Bradgate, Lady Manners's house at Bagworth, Leicester Abbey (then belonging to the Royalist Countess of Devon), and the mansion of Sir Erasmus de la Fountaine[2] at Kirby Bellars. Nottingham was secured by Colonel Hutchinson, and nearly the whole of Derbyshire was controlled by Sir John Gell. The King's party, on the other hand, held Newark; Gervase Lucas, the Duke of Rutland's Master of the Horse, seized Belvoir Castle; and Stamford, with Burley House in Rutland, was held by the Campdeners. Fairfax was struggling with the Earl of Newcastle for the supremacy of Yorkshire, where the Hothams still held Hull for the Parliament, and Cromwell was advancing slowly from the associated eastern counties to attack Gainsborough and Lincoln, and join hands with the Fairfaxes. The task of Hastings, therefore, on the one hand, was to keep communications open from west to east along the Trent valley, and on the other, to make a free passage northwards from Wales and the western counties through Brereton's Cheshire forces to Royalist Lancashire and Yorkshire. It was not long, therefore, before Hastings established posts at Tutbury Castle, Swarkston Bridge, King's Mills, near Castle Donington, and Wilne Ferry,[3] near Shardlow.

The castle at Ashby consisted of two strong square stone towers called the Kitchen Tower and the Great Tower, together with a banqueting hall, chapel, and other rooms round an open yard. There were also two smaller detached brick towers on the bounding wall of the castle

[1] October 1643.

[2] He, also, was a Royalist, but his house fell into the hands of the Roundheads soon after the war began.

[3] Wilne Ferry is now superseded by Cavendish Bridge.

grounds. The two great towers were connected by an underground passage, from which another passage branched off to a triangular stone fort on the opposite side of Packington Road, which skirts the castle precincts on the eastern side. Thither were gathered together a force of probably three hundred gentry and cavalier soldiers, whilst in the town of Ashby were lodged many royalist refugees from those parts of Leicestershire that favoured the Parliamentary cause. The following extract from the *Perfect Diurnal* will show the reputation which the castle and its occupants had acquired in the middle of 1644:—

"The enemy are very strong, and their works good. They have vaults under the ground, through which they can go from one fort to another at their pleasure. Provisions they have good store, hung beef round about their kitchens within, and have lately been killing and salting of more. There are as debased and wicked wretches there as if they had been raked out of hell, as we are informed by some that have come from there. They have invented a new kind of compliment for a kind of protestation; and if they affirm or deny anything, it is usual to do it with this saying, 'The devil suck my soul through a tobacco-pipe' if such a thing is so or not so in their ordinary speech; and this is no wonder, for they have three malignant priests there, such as will drink and roar and swear as well as any cobb of them all, and end and begin one health after another, and swear and domineer so as it would make one's heart ache to hear the country people relate what they heard of them. They will cozen and cheat one another most wonderfully; steal one another's horses, and ride out and sell them, and sometimes run away, as if they were at their wits' end. There are also many Irish there, who have lately made a new fort, a very strong work, and it is called the Irish fort, who have been bold upon some clashing between them and those that profess to be Protestants in Ashby garrison. The Irish rebels have told them to their faces that they fight for the old true Catholic religion, which is better than ours, and puts them in better condition than they that are heretics; and swear that if ever they be straitened in a siege they will burn the town to the ground."

From this stronghold Hastings frequently sent out marauding parties to harry the district round, to waylay convoys, capture despatch riders, and generally to assist any Royalist forces within touch of him. The fame of these exploits earned him evil notoriety as a "rob carrier," an expression to be found over and over again, accompanied with adjectives of varying degrees of intensity, in the Parliamentary papers and news-letters of the period.

Several of these raids have been recorded, and will be afterwards referred to, but it may be appropriate here to give a sketch of one of them which took place in August 1644, which apparently made a great impression on the Roundheads at the time, and which probably earned for Hastings his opprobrious nickname. Hearing that certain carriers lay at Leicester on the night of August 5th, on their way to Derby, and probably taking ammunition from Waller for use of the besiegers of Wingfield Manor, "the Grand Rob Carrier, Generall Hastings, joyning with other forces from Beaver, came to Belgrave, a small town within a mile of Leicester,"[1] where his men lay in ambush during the night. On the next morning "they met an honest poor man near Belgrave and asked him whence he came; he answered, 'From Leicester,' and then they asked him where the ammunition was that was brought from London, and who he was for, to which questions he answered as well as he could; but, the bloody villains! one of them discharged a pistol against him, and the others cut and hacked him so that the poor man died there most miserably."[2] Searching the man's waggon for the expected spoil, the raiders found nothing but groceries, and, being hungry after their night's vigil, they set to work to devour "the plums and spice." In the meantime the news of the outrage was reported in Leicester, and a party was sent out to attack the marauders. In the engagement which ensued, "Captain Adinson, a valiant Scotchman, charged them gallantly, his men playing their parts stoutly, though overpowered by the enemy." Captain Rowland Hacker, the Royalist brother of Francis Hacker, "was in that encounter dangerously wounded, without hopes of life, and about ten other on both sides slaine; but by that time the other Captaines, Captain Grey and Captain Tapper, came to charge. The enemy retreated and made hast away, but Leicester men wanting horse to pursue them," returned to the town with the waggon and

[1] *Perfect Diurnal*, No. 54, Second Series.
[2] Whitelock's *Memorials*.

the remainder of its contents. Hacker survived the loss of his hand in this skirmish, and after the accession of Charles II., when his brother Francis was executed as a regicide, he vainly urged this loss, amongst other considerations, as a reason why his brother's forfeited estate should be bestowed on him to compensate him for the losses sustained by the Royalist members of his family.

Having roughly indicated the general character of Hastings's operations, we may now follow them chronologically, with as much detail as the space at our disposal will permit.

Upon the first outbreak of hostilities, Hastings put his mansion at Ashby in a state of defence, and on his return from Edgehill fight he determined at once to open up a way into Derbyshire, where Sir John Gell was in command of the Parliamentary forces. On the 1st day of January 1643 he accordingly set out with 300 foot and horse,[1] some ordnance and waggons, occupied the important bridge over the Trent at Swarkston, and set about to fortify it, together with the house of the Royalist, Sir John Harpur, on the Derbyshire bank of the river. On Tuesday, January 3rd, six companies of Derbyshire foot marched to attack him, but finding the Royalist horse too formidable, they retreated without an engagement. On Wednesday, according to a Royalist newspaper,[2] a force of 1200 Roundheads, with two pieces of ordnance, renewed the attempt, but seeing that Hastings had occupied a strong position across the narrow bridge,[3] they retreated once more. According to the same authority, a stubborn engagement took place on the bridge on Twelfth-Day, in which, "although the ordnance spared neither shot nor powder, and that Gell's men were thrice as many" as those of the Royalists, the latter received little hurt, but forced the enemy to retire with heavy losses.

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[1] *England's Memorable Accidents*, p. 145.

[2] *Mercurius Aulicus*, Jan. 10.

[3] The bridge, or rather series of bridges, stretches right across the Trent valley, and is about a mile long.

There is little doubt, however, that this is a lying report, for it appears from the register of All Saints', Derby, that Gell actually took the bridge on 5th January; and if we are to believe Gell's own account,[1] and the letters reported in a London newspaper[2] preserved in the Record Office, Hastings, having abandoned Sir John Harpur's house, was driven out of his works beyond the bridge with the loss of six men, two drakes, and a barrel of gunpowder, "soe that the enemy had never a mind to fortifie the same againe."

Encouraged by this success, Gell joined with Lord Grey and some Cheshire troops under Brereton to besiege Ashby Castle.[3] They assaulted the town, beat the enemy into the castle, and began to play on it with their ordnance, but before they could do any execution, a letter reached them from the Committee of Northampton, reporting that Rupert had marched from Banbury to relieve the place. Grey thereupon called a council of war, upon whose decision the besieging forces retired to their respective districts.

Hastings, in his turn, took up the offensive, and towards the end of the month it was reported in the *Mercurius Aulicus* (p. 55) that he had defeated "a whole troope of the Rebels horse at Burton-on-Trent." Shortly afterwards he joined forces with the Earl of Northampton, who had been sent from Banbury to attempt to recover Lichfield, which had recently surrendered to Gell. The Earl was slain in a battle with Gell and Brereton at Hopton Heath, near Stafford, and, according to the *Perfect Diurnal* (No. 41, First Series) Hastings himself was in this engagement "sorely wounded in the head and shoulders."

In May, Cromwell, who had reached Stamford, planned a joint attack on Newark with Gell and Grey. The latter, however, through fear of an attack by Hastings upon

[1] See his Diary, Glover's *Derbyshire*, vol. i. App. p. 63.
[2] *Certain Informations, &c.*, No. 1.
[3] *Gell's Diary.*

Leicester, refused to join him.[1] About the 7th of the month, Hastings received a check near Loughborough at the hands of Gell and Grey, who thereupon joined Cromwell, Hutchinson, and Willoughby at Nottingham.[2] In the meantime the Queen, who had landed in Yorkshire, had entered Newark with a large force, and this fact, together with the treacherous conduct of the Hothams, once more broke up the Roundhead coalition, and the various contingents returned to their respective quarters. Profiting by the opportunity thus afforded, the Queen despatched to Oxford fifty waggons of supplies, sorely needed in view of the threatened attack of Essex upon the King's headquarters. Guarded by twenty troops of horse and two thousand foot, under the command of "Colonell Hastings, the Lord of Dover, Master Percie, and divers others,"[3] the waggons slowly wound their way through Leicestershire and Northamptonshire and safely reached their goal. The Queen herself was at Ashby in June,[4] and safely joined her husband in July.

During the rest of this year, and for the first two months of 1644, Hastings was directly concerned in no great undertaking; but he kept open the line of communications along the Trent by means of his posts at Tutbury, Ashby, King's Mills, and Wilne Ferry, whilst he assisted the garrisons of Lichfield and Burton, and sent occasional reinforcements to the troops operating in Lincolnshire under Newcastle against Cromwell and Manchester. In plundering raids and waylaying convoys he met with more success than in engagements in the open field, where he more than once met with serious reverses.

Thus we are told by Whitelock that about the 1st of September, "Sir William Brereton took Eccleshall Castle, and defeated a party of Lord Capel's forces, under Colonel Hastings," who about the 22nd of the month was worsted

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[1] Carlyle's *Cromwell*, Letter IX.

[2] *A Continuation of Certain Speciall and Remarkable Passages of Parliament*, No. 44.

[3] *Ibid.*, No. 45.

[4] Queen's letter of 27th June.

at Brassington Moor, in Derbyshire, after a sharp fight with a party of Manchester forces.[1]

Shortly after the fight at Winceby, Hastings first met Cromwell in the field.[2] With seven troops of horse from Ashby and Belvoir he attempted to stop his advance on Gainsborough, but he was utterly routed, and most of his men were taken prisoners, "the Colonell himselfe very narrowly escaping."[3]

Early in December Gell's men surprised a detachment of Hastings's troops at "the house of one Eyres in Snelson,"[4] captured 100 horse, 200 foot, two captains, and twelve other officers.

On January 11, 1644, according to a report in *Certaine Informations* (No. 54), Lutterworth was plundered by the Ashby troops; but this small success was more than counterbalanced by a severe loss inflicted on them by Gell at the capture of Burton[5] about the 25th of the month. Referring apparently to this event, a writer in the *Mercurius Britannicus* (No. 2) says: "Sir John Gell begins to inlarge his quarters about Derby, Hastings is put to his trumps, and plays the after game very ill. Though he hath made the country poor by robbing and pillaging them, yet is he not one crosse the richer; he hoped to have gone away with a lump of wealth, but his greedy souldiers will share with him, who can spend it as fast as he can get it. He was in an ill case when he came to Ashby onely with three men, and glad he could escape so too."

Newcastle had captured and garrisoned Wingfield Manor, nine miles north of Derby, in December, and Hastings's posts at King's Mills and Wilne were therefore useful for securing the passage of reinforcements across the Trent. Gell determined, as soon as possible, to reduce them. He carried King's Mills by assault on the 5th of February,

[1] *Certain Informations*, No. 36.
[2] See Whitelock and *Perfect Diurnal*, No. 14, New Series.
[3] Widdrington's letter to Newcastle (*Rushworth*, Pt. III. vol. ii., Oct. 22).
[4] *The Weekly Accompt*, No. 1.
[5] *Mercurius Civicus*, No. 35.

capturing fifty-two men and two officers, with the loss of one man slain and twenty wounded.[1] He followed up this success by an attack upon Hastings's horse "neere Trent," [2] where he "tooke an hundred and fifty horse, and as many prisoners, and killed forty on the place." About the same time his quarters (probably near Nottingham) were "beaten up" by Colonel Mitton, who took sixty horse and several prisoners, including Lieutenant-Colonel Fleetwood and his brother.

Greater things than these, however, were now afoot. The Scotch had crossed the Border, Newcastle had gone north to the town from which he derived his title, Lord Fairfax had made himself completely master of the East Riding of Yorkshire, his son, Sir Thomas, had besieged Lathom House in Lancashire, and Newark was strongly invested by Meldrum and Willoughby with an army of 8500 men and a powerful train of artillery, collected from the garrisons of Nottingham, Rutland, Derbyshire, Lincolnshire, and Leicestershire.

The English Roundheads, urged on by the Parliament and the Puritan ministers, were flocking to appointed centres to take the Covenant, the date fixed for Leicestershire being Sunday, March 3rd, and the place Leicester. Hastings, "having notice thereof, with four troops from Beaver Whorton House and another garrison, coursed about the country,"[3] laying hands on all the clergy, churchwardens, and other church officers whom he could catch, and haling them to Ashby. Whitelock says that a hundred of them in all were captured, but the figures are not to be relied upon. Sweeping round Leicester through Lutterworth and Sutton, Hastings came to Hinckley on March 3rd with his prisoners and a large quantity of cattle and other plunder. The Leicester men, hearing of his whereabouts, mustered

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[1] For an interesting account of the affair, see a characteristic letter from Gell to Essex, quoted in Nichols (*West Goscote*, vol. 3, Pt. II.).

[2] *The Kingdomes Weekly Intelligencer* (Feb. 20–27).

[3] *Perfect Diurnal*, No. 32.

what horse and foot they could, and sallied forth under Lieutenant-Colonel Henry Grey,[1] fell upon him in Hinckley market-place, drove him out into the fields, and beat him, capturing fifty prisoners, 140 horse, 80 head of cattle, with divers packs of ammunition, and recovering all the prisoners, who had been locked in Hinckley Church.

In the meantime, Sir Edward Hartopp, "with a thousand horse of Leicester and Derby,"[2] had gone to Nottingham, where his force was increased by more than five hundred horse, lent by Colonel Hutchinson, with the intent that they should seize Muscam Bridge, and so prevent the escape of the Newark horse from the island in the Trent, under the walls of the town. Hartopp, however, "having more mind to drink than to fight," lingered a day in Nottingham and lost his opportunity, so that the Newark horse were free to go where they pleased. Joining with the garrisons of Belvoir and Wiverton, they made a futile attempt upon Nottingham, and then marched away by Wilne Ferry into Leicestershire. They were naturally welcomed by Hastings, who, together with Sir Charles Lucas, had recently been beaten with some loss near Burley House by Hartopp's force,[3] and they united with him in an attempt upon the garrison of Leicester, now greatly reduced by the withdrawal of a large number of men to the leaguer at Newark. It was also rumoured in Ashby that Major-General Porter was coming from Lincoln to reinforce them.[4]

On Friday, March 15th, the combined forces of Hastings, Wilmott, and Lucas[5] gave the Leicester garrison an alarm about two o'clock in the afternoon, but durst not come within cannon shot of the town, and after a skirmish, in which they lost four men prisoners, retired to Mountsorrel for the night. On the next day, Hartopp, who had come from Newark with about two thousand men by way of

[1] *Perfect Diurnal*, No. 32.
[2] Hutchinson's *Memoirs*.
[3] *Military Scribe*, No. 5.
[4] *Mercurius Aulicus*, March 23.
[5] *Military Scribe*, No. 6.

Burley and Melton, joined with the Leicester garrison, and after a smart engagement at Mountsorrel,[1] a full account of which we have given elsewhere, drove them back on Loughborough. Hartopp's pusillanimity on this occasion caused a serious breach with the Leicester troops, and as far as we can gather from the very confused accounts of the subsequent proceedings as related by eye-witnesses in contemporary news-letters, it would appear that the Leicester forces and those under his command operated independently, Hartopp going by way of Barrow-on-Soar to intercept the enemy at Cotes Bridge, and the Leicester garrison returning to their quarters. Accepting this view of the matter, we understand from the *Military Scribe* that the Leicester men again advanced upon the Royalists on the Sunday, skirmished with them in the neighbourhood of Loughborough, and forced them into a breastwork on the Loughborough side of the Cotes Bridge, whilst Hartopp's horse lay at Stanford and Cotes, and his foot entrenched themselves at the Nottingham end of the bridge, or rather series of bridges—for the Soar was then divided at this point into four channels, the intervening islands being traversed by a raised causeway about half a mile in length. On Monday the fight was renewed, the Leicester men coming on with three companies of foot, a regiment of horse, and "two small pieces"[2] of ordnance. Lord Grey's regiment,[3] under Hartopp's command, also attacked from the Nottingham side of the river, hotly contested the bridges, and by the help of artillery fire, directed by "one Russell, a gunner, honest, valiant, and skilful," drove the enemy back, sent their horse scurrying through Loughborough to Burley House and their foot into the Great Meadow, where the two parties stood facing each other till nightfall, when Hartopp withdrew his men over the bridge, "and a foord near, to make the passages good."

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[1] See Mountsorrel, p. 126.
[2] *The Thomason Tracts* (British Museum, E. 28).
[3] *Scottish Dove*, No. 23.

Ashby-de-la-Zouch Castle, Main Tower, looking E.S.E.

Rupert, leaving Chester on March 12th, and advancing with 2000 horse, as many foot, and "some great pieces," by way of Shrewsbury, Bridgnorth, Wolverhampton, and Tamworth,[1] reached Ashby on March 18th, and Hartopp heard of his approach during the night.[2] He accordingly retired with such troops as would follow him towards Newark, but Lord Grey's regiment left him and went to Leicester, which they soon placed in good condition to withstand an assault. Newark, however, was less fortunate, for Rupert, with characteristic dash, fell upon the besiegers, who, divided amongst themselves through the mutual jealousies of the commanders of the various county levies, were in no mood to obey their veteran leader, and so Meldrum was forced to surrender on the 21st of the month. "His troops were allowed to march away, but his siege artillery, together with three or four thousand muskets and a large number of pikes and pistols, remained in the hands of the victors."[3]

Hartopp and Major Bingley were afterwards "questioned for letting the enemy pass,"[4] and the matter "was referred to a Council of War." The inquiry, however, came to nothing, for family influence was strong in the House of Commons, and the eye-witnesses of the affair were busy fighting in places far asunder. Their written depositions,[5] eleven in number, were sent to London, but apparently two only of these are still in existence, and one of these is only partly decipherable. The rest were probably destroyed when the House of Commons was burnt in 1834, so that we are never likely to arrive at a clear account of these interesting engagements.

We next hear of Hastings at Tamworth, where he threatened to break the Roundheads' line of communications between Warwick and Stafford.[6] A little later he is at "Cambden" in Gloucestershire, where he met

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[1] *Mercurius Aulicus*, March 23.
[2] *Scottish Dove*, No. 23.
[3] Gardiner's *Civil War*, i. 317.
[4] Whitelock.
[5] *State Papers Dom.*, vol. 501.
[6] *Ibid.*

with a severe repulse at the hands of Sergeant-Major Beere.[1] Beere, in charge of a convoy going to Gloucester, was attacked by Hastings's men, but completely turned the tables on his enemy, capturing 9 officers, 2 colours, 80 horse, and 100 men.

On the 10th of April Fairfax took Selby, and on the 20th of the month he joined hands with the Scotch at Tadcaster. Newcastle, in the meantime, with the main body of his forces, had made York his headquarters, and was preparing to stand a siege. For two months there was much manœuvring of troops in Leicestershire and the neighbourhood, Manchester and Cromwell operating in Lincolnshire, Gell in Derbyshire, and the Earl of Denbigh in Cheshire and Shropshire, whilst Lord Grey refused to stir from Leicester. Rupert was in Worcester, Shropshire, and Cheshire, and there were considerable numbers of Newcastle's horse still in Leicestershire under Wilmott and Goring. Hastings is now with one force, now with another, but doing nothing effective. Thus in the *Parliamentary Scout* (No. 47), of May 8th, he is said to be with Goring and Lucas, making "not a little spoil in Leicestershire." About a week later[2] we hear of him at Melton-Mowbray. In the *Kingdomes Weekly Intelligencer* (No. 56), of May 28th, he is reported to have marched with Rupert, Goring, and Porter through Burton-on-Trent towards Lancashire, diverging to the right through Chesterfield on the way to Yorkshire. Now he attempts to relieve Russell House,[3] besieged by Denbigh, but is beaten off, and now he is skirmishing with the same forces near Lichfield.[4]

The siege of York was well in hand at the beginning of June, and the Royalist forces, with the exception of those necessary to hold the several garrisons, had gone

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[1] *The Thomason Tracts*, E. 38 (*a*).
[2] *Scottish Dove*, 32.
[3] *Mercurius Britannicus* (No. 38), June 3.
[4] *State Papers Dom.*, vol. 501.

from this neighbourhood to relieve the place. For nearly a month, therefore, there was comparative peace in Leicestershire. On the 1st of July, however, the day before Marston Moor, hostilities began again, and a sharp fight took place at Bosworth Field, "in the very place where King Richard the Third was slain;"[1] for Captain Babington, sent from Leicester by Lord Grey with 80 horse, fell upon 120 of Hastings's men, beat them, pursued them for three miles, and took forty prisoners, threescore horse, "one hundred cattle, besides sheep and other goods in a very great proportion," and restored the spoils to their owners.

Hastings's position was now becoming critical, for the whole of the Royalist forces in the north being routed and scattered at Marston Moor on July 2nd, Manchester and Cromwell were free to return southwards and help their friends. Gell and Grey became proportionally elated, and began boldly to attack the Royalist forts and garrisons in their neighbourhood. Thus Tutbury Castle,[2] held by Sir Andrew Kingston for Hastings, was visited by Gell on July 6th, 58 horses being captured and taken to Derby. But Wingfield Manor, still held for the King, was the main objective, and Grey and Gell determined to prepare the way for its fall by attacking Hastings's post[3] at Wilne Ferry on the Trent. Hauling about 60 cart-loads of hay and other combustible matter to the very edge of the Royalist trenches, they first used them as a protection against hostile bullets; then, taking advantage of a strong breeze blowing towards the enemy, they set fire to the fuel. The result may be imagined. Blinded and half choked by the pungent smoke and scorched by the flying masses of burning hay, the cavaliers fled from their fortifications and surrendered with their arms, bag and baggage, whilst the Roundheads went off in triumph

[1] Nichols, iv. p. 558.
[2] *Ibid.*, iii. App. iv. p. 35.
[3] Whitelock.

with their artillery.[1] Within ten days after this disaster, Hastings endeavoured to unite the Lichfield, Tutbury, Ashby, and other garrisons at Burton for the relief of the manor. Gell, however, defeated the manœuvre,[2] and Major Sanders, one of his ablest cavalry officers, surprised the whole of Colonel Eyre's regiment in Boylston Church and beat Colonel Bagot's Lichfield men out of Burton, capturing 300 of the enemy as the result of the double engagement. In the meantime Manchester had returned to Lincolnshire from York, and was able to send artillery, under Major-General Crawford, to the leaguer at Wingfield, and the manor was yielded to the Roundheads on August 12th.

Hastings was now in almost desperate plight;[3] so much so, indeed, that he had already been obliged to draw all his men and provisions from the town of Ashby into the castle. We find him still, however, making occasional raids upon the country round. On the 10th of the month, for instance, occurred the affair at Belgrave which we have already described. Again, towards the end of September, he attempted with 120 horse and foot to waylay a convoy going to Nottingham from Leicester with stores and ammunition for the forces once more besieging Newark. Missing his aim, he awaited the return of the waggons at Costock, and lined with his men the hedges of a lane through which the Roundheads must pass. The latter, however, forced their way through, turned into the fields, beat the enemy, killed eight, wounded others, took above 60 prisoners and 60 horses, whilst the fugitives left all their arms behind them in their hasty flight, and the convoy "returned safe to Leicester the same night with their prisoners and prizes, and were entertained with much joy and triumph."[4]

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[1] *Perfect Diurnal*, No. 52.
[2] See Glover's *Derbyshire*, vol. i. App. i. p. 37.
[3] *Perfect Occurrences* (No. 33), Aug. 3.
[4] *Perfect Diurnal*, No. 60.

Still again, on Sunday, September 13th, Hastings came to "Rodely, a town near Mountsorrel,"[1] and entered the church, taking away three men and haling them to Ashby. The next week he attempted to repeat the exploit at Loughborough, for, as Whitelock puts it, "A party of Colonel Hastings his men came to Loughborough on the Lord's-day, rode into the Church in Sermon-time, and would have taken away the Preacher out of the Pulpit, but the women rescued him, and proved them more valiant than their husbands or Hastings his men."

In October the western borders of Leicestershire and Derby were persistently plundered by the garrisons of Lichfield, Ashby, and Tutbury. Gell, therefore, "set upp a garrison at Barton Parke, opposite to Tutbury,"[2] whilst the Leicester forces seized and fortified Lord Beaumont's house at Coleorton as a menace to Ashby Castle.

About the same time a party of the King's forces, returning from Yorkshire, seized Crowland, which was thereupon blockaded by Fairfax and Rosseter.[3] The Newark, Belvoir, and Ashby garrisons, in their turn, combined to raise the blockade, and Fairfax, Rosseter, Gell, Hutchinson, and Grey rallied to meet them.[4] The Royalists were surprised in the neighbourhood of Belvoir Castle and thoroughly routed. Gell[5] tells us that many of them were slain and drowned in a brook, and that "Sir Richard Byron, then Governor of Newarke, had much a doe to save himself, in running on ffoott to Belvoyer Castle, leaving his perriwicke behind him on the ground." Captain Francis Hacker, in a letter to the House of Commons, quoted in the *Perfect Diurnal* (No. 67), says: "Sir John Girlington was drowned and divers others of quality with him, besides common soldiers, in their confused flight over a mill-dam at the bottom of Belvoyre hill; 400 commanders and

[1] *Perfect Diurnal*, No. 62.
[2] Glover's *Derbyshire*, vol. i. p. 67.
[3] Whitelock.
[4] *Perfect Diurnal*, Nos. 66 and 67.
[5] Glover's *Derbyshire*, vol. i. p. 68.

officers and neere 400 common Souldiers were taken prisoners; and that which crowneth the success, all this was done without the loss of one man slaine on our side." Commenting later on the effects of the victory, he adds: "It would now be askt what's become of Generall Hastings and his crew of rob-carriers in Leicestershire, that no further mention is of late made of them, but the answer is soon made, that those few men he had except the standing garrison at Ashby were all lost in this last defeate in Lincolnshire, and for his part he playes least in fight; one while he is said to be at Ashby, then at Tutbury, then gone to keep Prince Rupert company at Bristoll, where he expects to be made Governour; then gone to the King, then at Oxford, and it may be you will heare further then all this of him erre long be. His Garrison at Ashby, it appears, is but weake; a party from Leicester the last weeke went and faced the Townes side, drove away many of their Beaste and Cattle, and not a man came out against them; but to requite this courtesie, two or three dayes after, 10 or 12 horse from that Garrison came to Kilby within five miles of Leicester in the night time, and carried away two or three of the L. Greyes commanders that carelessly stayed some dayes together at a gentleman's house there to make merry." This compliment was shortly afterwards paid back with interest, for a party of eight of Hastings's officers, also "going somewhither to make merry,"[1] were attacked near Loughborough by as many of Gell's men, who killed three of them, including Sir John Bale's son, captured Captain Halford, Sir Richard Halford's son, and wounded some of the others.

By the middle of November the Leicester[2] and Derby forces had begun the siege of Ashby Castle, "that notorious den of rob-carriers,"[3] and had not only taken Coleorton, as we have before mentioned, but had blocked

[1] *Perfect Occurrences*, No. 13.
[2] *True Informer*, No. 55.
[3] *Perfect Diurnal*, No. 69.

the line of communication with Tutbury by seizing Brissingcourt House. The Royalists in the town of Ashby found their position far from comfortable, for both in November and December[1] we hear of successful raids upon their quarters, and by the end of the year they had been obliged to take refuge in the Castle enclosure.[2]

Early in February[3] the garrison made a sortie, in order to recruit their dwindling store of hay. They had already loaded up some waggons with this commodity, "about Rawnson," when they were attacked in front and rear, lost 40 prisoners, 80 arms, and 60 horse, whilst their hay became the spoil of their victors, and was brought safe to Coleorton. Again, on February 21st,[4] a party from Ashby seized "Mr. Quarles his house, a place within some two or three miles of Leicester," but they were routed out by a force from that town, and all captured. About a week afterwards the Ashby men attempted a reprisal, and attacked Coleorton,[5] intending to have surprised and plundered the town, but in the attempt lost seventy or eighty of their horse.

Beyond the announcement[6] that in April Gell captured 160 bushels of corn "that were designed for Ashby-de-la-Zouch," we hear nothing further of the Ashby Royalists until May. They then enjoyed a temporary triumph, for the King himself, with a large force, stopped at the castle on the 27th of the month, on his way to the siege of Leicester. On the next day the Coleorton garrison sullenly watched him march by, but rightly conjecturing that Charles had more important matters in hand than the reduction of a small outpost like theirs, they made a vicious attack upon his rear-guard, capturing or killing forty of his men.

The events of the next few weeks are too well known to be dwelt upon here. It comes, however, within the

[1] *Perfect Occurrences*, No. 1.
[2] Whitelock.
[3] *Perfect Diurnal*, No. 81.
[4] *Perfect Occurrences*, No. 20.
[5] Letter quoted in a *History of Ashby Castle*, published 1824.
[6] *Perfect Occurrences*, Ap. 18–25.

purview of this paper to notice that a detachment of Lord Loughborough's[1] "blue coats" fought at Naseby under Langdale, whilst "the sniveling coward Hastings"[2] was made Governor of Leicester when the King left it a few days after its capture. "He fortifies so earnestly," says the writer, "as if he meant to command the whole country, and then wo to the Carriers of Derby; for this Goblin of Ashby-de-la-Zouch means to play the Devil at Leicester." On that "dismal Saturday," the 14th of June, these hopes were shattered at Naseby, and whilst the castle of Ashby was able to afford the King a temporary refuge on his flight to Lichfield, Hastings was to return to it a few days later, after his surrender of the county town to Fairfax, in almost as sorry a plight as Charles himself. Fairfax followed him, and on the 20th of the month was "set down before Hastings his Denne, where he was wont to torment the Carriers."[3] He was soon, however, to depart on more urgent business, but he left a division under Colonel John Needham, the new parliamentary Governor of Leicester, who continued the siege until the capture of the stronghold in the following year. Whitelock reports that in August "at Lichfield, the King confined Colonel Hastings for delivering up of Leicester"—a sorry return for the sacrifices he had made for the Royalist cause, and a mean revenge to take at a time when Hastings's headquarters sorely needed his help, and were so strongly invested that Charles thought it prudent not to go there, but rather to force his way through hostile Derbyshire to the yet powerful stronghold of Newark.[4] Hastings's imprisonment, however, was not of long duration, for we soon find him once more exerting all his energies on behalf of his ungrateful master.

We are told in the *Mercurius Veridicus* that in September the garrison of Ashby was reduced to 60 men; and

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[1] Markham's *Fairfax*.
[2] *Mercurius Britannicus*, No. 86.
[3] *Ibid.*, No. 87.
[4] Whitelock.

again in the *Kingdomes Weekly Intelligencer* of September 22nd, that the Royalists were forced to encamp in "the Parke, the sicknesse being in the Towne and Castle." They were shortly afterwards, however, reinforced by 600 of the King's men, and their hopes of a successful resistance were once more revived. Nay more, they were able to resume the offensive, for in the *Weekly Account* of December 4th it is reported that the Ashby men attacked a company of 58 carriers, guarded by a convoy of 30 horses, coming "to London with cheeses and other things," and took their horses and packs away. Again, according to Whitelock, about January 1, 1646, "a party of the King's horse from Ashby took the minister of Morly and of other towns, but Sir John Gell rescued them." About January 16, 1646, a mortar-piece[1] "such as the like is not in England," was on its lumbering way to Poyntz at Belvoir,[2] when "the Ashby horse light upon the convoy, took them, took away the granadoes, the Team of Horses, cut the geares, and had taken away the Mortar-peece also, but that it would have hazarded the other Prize." In Symonds's *Diary*, again, under January 17th, it is stated that "Captain Wright, sent by the Lord Loughborough from Ashby, surprised Ashby House, within four myle of Coventry, took the Governour, Hunt, the coblar of Coventry, and his brother, and the rest, about ten. Four or five dayes after another party was sent from Ashby, and took 3 or 4 canoniers, a captain and others, within four mile of Belvoir Castle." Symonds, moreover, adds that about January 21st, "Lord Loughborough sent 300 foot with four colours, under the command of Colonel Roper, and above 100 horse, under the command of Colonel Stamford, towards the relief of Chester."

On Saturday,[3] January 31st, says Whitelock, "A party

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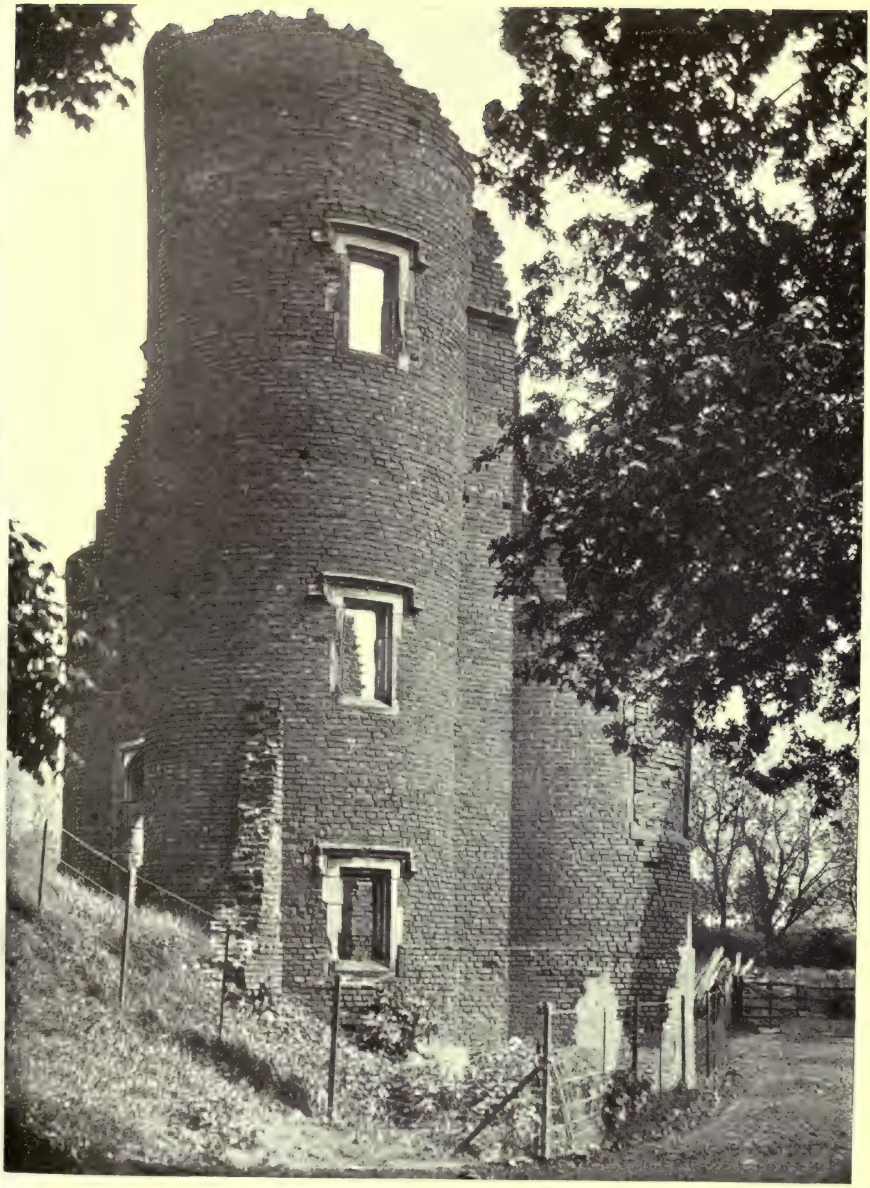
[1] *Weekly Account*, January 21.

[2] *A Continuation of Certain Speciall and Remarkable Passages of Parliament*, No. 18.

[3] For date see Symonds's *Diary*.

of about eighty horse and forty Dragoons were sent from Leicester, under Mr. (Major?) Meers, to Ashby, who marched with such speed and privacy that they came to Ashby about eleven a Clock that night, undiscovered, surprised the sentinels, fell in at the Turnpike, broke the Chain, and entered the Town. They took a hundred Horse, rich Prize, and Pillage, Plundered the Town, rescued divers Countrymen Prisoners there, and returned to Leicester without opposition." We learn from Symonds that they plundered the mercers', saddlers', and sutlers' shops, and that the horses were those belonging to a body of gentlemen and troopers, who had come from Newark and Tutbury, apparently on their way to Chester.

The Ashby men, however, within the fortnight had the satisfaction of destroying by fire the Lord Beaumont's House at Coleorton, which had so long threatened them on the east. This was, however, too late to avail the garrison, for Belvoir had surrendered to Poyntz on February 2nd, and the still more important garrison of Chester had yielded to Brereton the next day. All hope of help from Charles or from the long-expected Irish force under Glamorgan was now at an end, and negotiations for the surrender of Ashby itself were begun. The terms proposed, according to Whitelock, were submitted to Parliament on February 24th, and on February 28th the articles of capitulation, honourable to all parties, were signed. They may be briefly summarised thus: The garrison, with certain exceptions, were to march away at once; the works of the town and garrison should be sleighted; Ashby House should, after three months, be delivered into the hands of the Earl of Huntingdon, Lord Loughborough's brother; Hastings, with all his officers and men, might, if they chose, march to Worcester or Bridgnorth fully armed, with one brass gun, or they might lay down their arms and live at home upon "submitting to all ordinances of parliament"; the property of Hastings, his brother, and Col. Perkins, the Governor of the Castle, should not be



Ashby-de-la-Zouch, S.W. Boundary Tower, looking S.

sequestrated; and the gentlemen who had taken refuge with the garrison should be allowed to compound for their estates; Hastings and the gentlemen with him in the castle might remain with their servants at Ashby three months after the surrender; or they might be convoyed to Hull or Bristol, and be transported to France or Holland, in a ship provided by the Parliament.

Which of these alternatives were accepted is not clear. According to the House of Commons Journal of May 18th, a pass was "granted to Lord Loughborough and Sir Aston Cockayne," his relative, to "go beyond the seas," but it is doubtful if it was used. It is certain, however, that Hastings took a prominent part in the second Civil War, for we find him joined with Lucas, Lisle, Capel, and the rest, in the memorable defence of Colchester against Fairfax; and he was one of the notable prisoners taken to Windsor after the surrender of the town, and placed at the mercy of Parliament. He is said to have escaped from captivity, but his name is amongst those of the seven Royalists upon whom, on November 10th,[1] Parliament passed a decree of banishment from the Kingdom. The order was, however, revoked on December 13th.

Shortly before this date Ashby Castle had been given into the keeping of Lord Grey, and in it had been imprisoned the unfortunate Duke of Hamilton, whom Grey had captured at Uttoxeter after the great battle at Preston. Orders were about this time given by Parliament for sleighting certain castles[2] and mansions likely to prove centres of Royalist disturbance, and on November 25th, according to Whitelock, the name of Ashby Castle was added to the list. The work of demolition was entrusted to William Bainbrigg of Lockington, and by the aid of mines and gunpowder he soon reduced the fortress to a harmless, if picturesque, mass of ruins.

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[1] Commons Journal.

[2] The outworks of the town and castle had been demolished immediately after the surrender. See *Perfect Diurnal* of March 9, 1646.

It is hardly necessary to say that the fortunes of both Hastings and his family were seriously involved through their action during the war. We find accordingly that in 1653 an Act was passed[1] to enable Ferdinando, Earl of Huntingdon, to sell some lands in Loughborough and the neighbourhood in order to pay his debts. Henry Hastings was evidently at this time in England, for his name occurs as one of the signatories to a deed belonging to Mr. George Farnham, of Quorn, dated 1654, and relating to one of these land sales.

In the next year he was "named to be suspected"[2] of participation in one of the many plots against Cromwell which followed the dissolution of the "New Model Parliament," and he wisely and promptly went before "the Council to clear himself."

In February 1660, however, when Monk's party were actively negotiating for the restoration of the Stuart line, Rumbold[3] reported to Charles that "Lord Loughborough hath and doth still use his best interest with the English Papists, to keep them off from addressing to the King of Spain, to get your Majesty ingaged to give some conditions, and he hopes it will take effect," for "the city are generally for having the business done by a Parliament rather than a war," and tampering with a foreign Papist power would inevitably have rendered such a thing impossible. Rumbold,[4] however, feared that Hastings might be won over to more moderate measures through the influence of Lady Herbert, "he being perpetually with her and doing nothing without her advice, which she is aware of, and resolves to hinder as far as she can his Majesty's restoration unless by the French party."

These fears, however, proved groundless, for Hastings threw in his lot with Monk, and we find his name amongst

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[1] Nichols, *West Goscote* vol., p. 605, and Bell's *Huntingdon Peerage.*
[2] *Severall Proceedings of State Affairs*, No. 23.
[3] Clarendon, *State Papers*, vol. iii. p. 679.
[4] See a later letter addressed to Lord Chancellor Hyde.

those appended in April to a "Declaration of the Nobility and Gentry,"[1] announcing their submission to the Council of State.

In 1662, when the Restoration had become an accomplished fact, another Act was passed to confirm the sales of land provided for in 1653, and further portions of the Hastings estates changed hands. Moreover, about the same date, as shown by documents among the archives of the Quorn Grammar School, Henry Hastings was indebted to Thomas Rawlins, baker and citizen of London, in the sum of £200, which he undertook to pay with interest in two instalments in 1661 and 1663. Better times, however, were coming,[2] for on January 15, 1662, Hastings was appointed Lord Lieutenant of Leicestershire. From the *Calendar of State Papers, Domestic* (Charles II., vol. xxxiv. p. 577), it also appears that he was granted the farm of the customs on the import and export of sheep, horses, and other cattle, between England and Ireland, for the period of twenty-one years, the rent to be £400 for the first seven years and £500 afterwards. As it was estimated that the value of these customs would be £1000 or £1100 a year, the bargain was not a bad one—for Hastings—and he was no doubt able to live quite comfortably for the short remainder of his life at his Lambeth residence, Loughborough House. Being a bachelor, he bequeathed his property to his nephew, Theophilus, Earl of Huntingdon, by a will dated August 1, 1665, and on his death in January of the next year, his remains were buried[3] "in the Collegiate Chapel of St. George, within the Castle of Windsor, in the aisle on the north side of the choir, not far from the grave of his illustrious ancestor, William, Lord Hastings," who, 180 years before, had been, like himself, both the hero and the victim of terrible civil strife.

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[1] Kennet's *Register and Chronicle.*
[2] Bell's *Huntingdon Peerage*, p. 127.
[3] *Ibid.*, p. 128.

A DESCRIPTION OF THE TOMBS AND MONUMENTS HAVING SCULPTURED EFFIGIES UP TO THE CLOSE OF THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY: WITH A DIGRESSION UPON THE SWITHLAND LOCAL HEADSTONES OF THE SEVENTEENTH AND EIGHTEENTH CENTURIES

By W. Samuel Weatherley

THE development of mediæval architecture in England continued its growth for many centuries little influenced by externals, yet there came a time, at the beginning of the sixteenth century, when Gothic work went on in our churches (especially in country districts) independently of, but side by side with, the magnificent sepulchral monuments that then arose in a style different from all inherited traditions. These works owe their origin to the employment of foreign craftsmen encouraged by the patronage of King Henry VIII. and by the patronage of those rich enough to indulge in the royal fashion. These foreigners brought with them their classical tradition and methods of work, which developed into what we now call the English Renaissance. This manner of work soon became general, not only for magnificent monuments, but for humbler memorials. When means did not permit, but keenness to be "in the fashion" prevailed, local or unskilled workmen were employed; the evidence of this is not difficult to see, and sometimes the result is unintentionally grotesque.

It is interesting to note in connection with sepulchral monuments the variation of posture the effigies have assumed. Until the sixteenth century this was almost

without exception recumbent, with hands clasped in devotion; but soon the posture became a kneeling one—the father, his sons behind him; the mother, her daughters behind her. Later one finds the medallion and bust, but up to this time the coats of arms were vital elements in the composition, treated with marvellous skill. When, as years went on, we come to the flowing wig and Roman toga, and still later to the sitting posture, and to the figure erect in self-assertion, heraldry had ceased to be vital, and when introduced was entirely subservient and apologetic.

Quite as interesting is the change and deterioration in the character of the inscriptions, the "qui pur l'alme de . . . priera . . . jours de pardon avera" and "de quelle alme Dieu eit mercy" of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries was followed by the "cujus a'i'e propicietur Deus omnipotens," which remained until the Reformation. A modification of this continued in use, but ultimately gave way to the laudatory Latin inscription of the seventeenth century, which in its turn gave way to the often fulsome doggerel of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

Leicestershire is remarkably rich in sepulchral monumental remains, and many of these are of the highest historical and artistic value, pre-eminently the splendid series at Bottesford to the ancestors of the Duke of Rutland. Of wooden sepulchral effigies there appear to be no remains in the county, but in the neighbouring ones of Northamptonshire and Rutlandshire there are several.

APPLEBY

Under the easternmost of the arches between the chancel and Appleby's Aisle or Chancel is a fourteenth-century altar tomb of stone in fairly good preservation, with recumbent effigies. The man wears mail gorget and skirt, jupon, baudric, gauntlets, sword, and dagger. His head lies on a helme with crest—a bird with a train; at

his feet a shaggy lion. The woman has a small reticulated head-dress, gown hangs in straight folds from neck. Her head rests on a double cushion; at her feet two dogs with collars round their necks. No inscription or arms remain. The effigies (date about 1370) are supposed to be those of Sir Edward de Appleby, Knight, and his wife. Their burial is noted in the Wyrley MS.

ASHBY-DE-LA-ZOUCH

In the north wall of the north aisle, under an ogeed arch, crocketed and cusped, is a recumbent effigy of a pilgrim. Some suppose him to be Thomas de Hastings, youngest brother of William, first Lord Hastings (the Magnificent), who built the castle at Ashby-de-la-Zouch, and who was beheaded by King Richard III. in 1483. Little is known of this Thomas, but he may have undertaken a pilgrimage owing to disgust at his brother's recklessness; or the effigy may represent Leonard de Hastings, who died about 1460. He wears a sclavine and a scrip decorated, like his hat, with scallop shells, and has a staff by his side. It is customary for pilgrims to go barefoot, but here he is shod—

> "Shode he was with great maistre,
> With shoon decoped and with lace,"

and a collar of S.S. indicates that he came of a distinguished family.

St. James, the Greater, is often represented in old painted glass, vestments and embroidery, in the sclavine with hat, scrip, shells and staff, as he is on the orphreys to the cope on the brass to Henry de Codyngton, 1404, in Bottesford Church, and on the stall end from Belvoir Priory, now part of the lectern in Barkeston Church, Leicestershire.

> "You may see by the signs
> That sitten in myne hat,
> That I have walk full wide

Effigy of a Pilgrim, St. Helen's Church, Ashby-de-la-Zouch.

In wet and in dry,
And sought good saints
For my soul's health;"

and

"Give me my scallop-shell of Quiet;
My Staff of Faith to walk upon;
My Scrip of Joy, immortall diett;
My Bottle of Salvation;
My Gown of Glory (hope's true Gage);
And thus I'll take my Pilgrimage."

The scallop shell of St. James was sometimes introduced into armorial bearings by those who had gone to the Holy Wars. Thus Sir Nicholas de Villiers, 1266, of Brokesby, Leicestershire, who went with King Edward I. to the Holy Land, "bare the crosse of St. George charged with five scallops, *or*."

In the chapel on the south side of the chancel is the sumptuous altar-tomb of Francis, second Earl of Huntingdon, and the Lady Katharine, his wife. The effigy of the Earl is in exceedingly rich armour, with mantle and collar of the Order of the Garter. His head, with a coronet, is supported by his helme, with crest, a bull's head erased, *sable*. His feet rest on a lion. The Countess wears a coronet, and the mourning barbe. At her feet a griffin. The inscription reads:—

"Here lyeth y^e^ corps of Francys late Erle of Hũtingdon, Lord Hastynges, Hungerford, Botreaux, Molyns, and Moyles, Knight of y^e^ Honourable Order of the Garter, which deceased y^e^ xx^th^ daye of June A^o^ Dñi 1561. And of the Lady Katharine Countess of Hũtingdon his wife, which deceased y^e^ 23^rd^ day of Sep^br^ Anno Dñi 1576."

The tomb, in which Italian influences are so evident, is profusely decorated with shields of arms. On the front is the effigy of Henry, the successor to the title, standing with shields of arms to right and left. On the north side are the five younger sons, with shields, and on the south the five daughters are standing.

The chapel and tomb were much defaced during the Civil Wars, but quite late in the seventeenth century

the former was fitted up and wainscoted, and Theophilus, seventh Earl of Huntingdon, repaired the tomb and placed at the foot a tablet with semicircular pediment enclosing a coat of arms, and an urn above, with an inscription recording the fact. The tomb then stood with its east end against the wall; it again stands in the centre of the chapel, the tablet having been removed.

Francis the first Earl of Huntingdon had, beside the above son, Edward (his third son), who was created Baron Loughborough by Queen Mary for the timely assistance given her against his neighbour the Earl of Suffolk, whose daughter, Lady Jane Grey, was born at Bradgate, on the border of Charnwood forest. Queen Mary also conferred other honours upon him, and such was his attachment to her that at her death he retired to a hospital he had built at Stoke Poges, in Buckinghamshire, where he died.

ASHBY FOLVILE

In the side chapel there is an alabaster altar tomb of Eustace de Folvile, locally termed "Old Folvile," who slew Lord Beler in 1326, in doing wager of battle for his estate, and died in 1347. Nichols states he is traditionally represented by this effigy. Wyrley's MS. (in the library of Herald's College) describes the effigy as in armour; on his breast the arms of Folvile (a cross molin, *gules*), but no inscription; a girdle round his waist, but no sword; his breast very prominent, on the left side of which is an iron blunted spike fixed in the stone with lead, which apparently has supported an attached shield; his head rests on a double pillow, originally supported by two angels, their hands and part of their drapery remaining visible, articulated sollerets, which rest against a lion couchant regardant. Also in this chapel the effigies of George Smith, died 1607, and Anne his wife—her death is left a blank—lie upon an altar tomb originally in the chancel. In the niches round the tomb are figures of their seven sons and five daughters (once with

their names under each).[1] At the head of the tomb are two blank shields. He is in half armour, gilt, his head rests upon his helme, hair combed back, beard long, hands and feet broken off, now restored. She lies upon a double cushion, has a large ruff, long waist, quilted sleeves, and hands broken off, also restored. Also in the same chapel is a lofty tomb to "Franciscus Smithius, died 1629, and Anne his wife ('ætatis sua anno LIX Christi CIↃIↃCXXIX')." It consists of a noble and lofty altar tomb, the arcaded sides of which formerly held the figures of their thirteen children. The upper structure is carried by four Corinthian columns.

On the north wall of the chancel is inserted a very fine early sixteenth-century monument to Ralph Woodford, with arms of Woodford and Folvile quarterly with two savages as supporters, the sinister holding a tree-like club. On each side of the monument an angel holds a blank shield.

The present Earl Carrington's father restored the tombs of both George and Francis Smith, all the armour being picked out in gold, and brought them into the side chapel from the chancel in 1850. These Smiths belonged to Lord Carrington's family.

ASTON FLAMVILLE

At Aston Flamville and Burbage, villages within a mile of one another and near Hinckley, are two remarkably fine incised slabs, which, on this account, can hardly be passed over. At Aston Flamville the slab forms the top of an altar tomb to Sir William Flamville and Dame Jane, his wife. He and his wife and five children are represented. The inscription is round the margin, and bears date MDLII. His wife's death is left blank. On the front and sides of the tomb are shields of arms. At Burbage the slab is to Rycharde Wightma', A.D. 1568, and Mary and Margaret his two wives. All these are

[1] The four first figures of the seven sons are dressed to the waist in armour, and they bear swords; the other three are in civilian costume.

represented and their eight children. Shields of arms are also introduced. This slab has been fixed to the wall over the site of the old family pew.

There is also in this church a very interesting mural monument to the Earl of Kent, rector in Charles I.'s reign, who died 1643.

There is an effigy at Aston Flamville of a knight in kneeling posture, one of the Turvills of Normanton, which has formerly been part of a tomb.

BARKESTON

Mr. Bloxam, writing in 1874, states in a tomb in the south aisle is a recumbent effigy in the lay costume of the fourteenth century of a type comparatively rare. It represents a franklin, or lord of the manor, of the time of Edward III., and is habited in the tunica and super-tunica.

BELTON

In the north-west corner of the north aisle is a beautiful alabaster figure of a lady, under a trefoil canopy with side shafts. Her head lies on a cushion; she has a close veil, head-dress, wimple, close-plaited gown, and over this a mantle gathered up below in folds by her left hand, which holds a book; her right hand is laid on her breast. At her feet is a griffin looking upwards. On the south side of the tomb are three kneeling figures, each holding a book. Against the lady's feet is a figure with arms extended, a female standing with hands elevated, and a priest in an alb. At the head two angels carrying up the released soul as a small figure in a napkin, and on either side two figures with albs.

The tomb is of coarse workmanship; the effigy represents the Lady Roesia Grace de Verdun, the foundress of the nunnery at Grace-Dieu in 1242. It was brought hither from the chapel at the dissolution, and was placed at

Monument of George Smith, Ashby-Folville Church.

the east end of the chancel on the north side; it was removed some thirty years ago to its present position. The tomb is considerably mutilated.

BOTTESFORD

Here amongst the monuments to the ancestors of the Earl of Rutland we have the simple but beautifully effective altar tombs with effigies erected previous to the Reformation, and the gorgeous Renaissance work which prevailed during the reigns of Elizabeth and James I.

Originally the burying-place was at the Priory at Belvoir, but at the suppression of the abbeys many of the monuments of the Albinis and the Rooses were removed to Bottesford Church by Thomas, Earl of Rutland, who appears to have been the first buried here.

Robert Lord Roos, who died in 1285, was buried at Kirkham on the south side of the choir, his bowels before the high altar at Belvoir and his heart at Croxton Abbey. At the suppression of religious houses part of the monument which lay over his heart at Croxton was removed to Bottesford and fastened to the north wall of the chancel, where it still remains. It consists solely of an inscription panel, let in level with the wall, with three shields—one at either end and a small one amongst the lettering. According to Nichols that on the left is the arms of Roos—three water bougets, impaling *arg.* two chevronels *az.*; Albini of Belvoir —that on the right is Roos quartering Badlesmere impaling a blank shield; the small one, Albini and Roos dimidiated. This panel is mentioned on account of its date, charm of lettering, and the resemblance it bears to Italian treatment of the fourteenth century. The inscription commences, "Hic . jacet . cor . dm . Robti' . de . Roos . cui' . corp' . sepelit' . apud . Kyrkham. . . . MoCCoLXXXVo."[1]

[1] The little effigy dates about 1310 by its costume. The Badlesmere arms only came in with the marriage of William, third Baron Roos, *ob.* 1343. The tablet, therefore, was clearly inscribed long after 1285.

The diminutive effigy in the north wall of the chancel, the lower part of which has been destroyed, should, in the opinion of the late Mr. Bloxam, be taken in connection with the above inscription. Formerly the effigy was ascribed to Robert de Todeni, founder of the Castle and Priory of Belvoir, who died in 1088; but this is obviously incorrect, as the work is clearly of the early fourteenth century. Diminutive effigies were often placed where the heart of some one of note had been buried apart from the body, for instance, at Tenbury, Worcestershire; at Horsted Keynes, Sussex; and at Mapouder, Dorset.

Note the very beautiful and elaborate brass to Henry de Codyngton, Rector of Bottesford (who died 1404), to which reference was made in describing the Hastings monument at Ashby-de-la-Zouch.

The two very charming embattled fifteenth-century alabaster altar tombs now in the Sacrarium came from the Priory; that on the south side is to Sir William Roos, who died at Belvoir Castle in 1414, and was buried in the midst of the choir at the Priory. The effigy of the knight is in armour, with collar of S.S.; round his bascinet is an orle of laurel berries, and on the frontlet **J.H.S. nazare'.** He has a camail of mail, his head resting on a helme with crest (a peacock with a long tail), his hands restored, the seams of his armour enriched, garter below knee, and hilt of sword charged with **J.H.S.**, and at his feet lies a long-tailed dog, the head of which has gone. On the front of the tomb are five angels holding oblong shields.

That on the north side is of a knight, the effigy and tomb being very similar to the preceding. The figure is bearded, and the bascinet has an orle and border of oak leaves; the joints of the armour are laced, the shoes peaked, and a lion couchant at the feet; under the head remain the feet of the peacock (the crest of Roos adopted by the Manners family). On the front of the tomb are six angels, in flowing robes and caps, holding shields now blank. This is supposed to be the monument to John

Hesilrige Monument, Castle Donnington Church.

Diminutive Effigy, and Monument of John Roos, Bottesford Church.

Roos, the eldest son, who succeeded in 1414, then seventeen years old. In 1421 he was slain, together with the Dukes of Clarence and Exeter, at Baugé, near Anjou. His body was brought over and buried at the Priory, and removed to Bottesford with his monument.

Sir William Roos married Margaret, the daughter of Sir John Arundel or Fitz-alan, Earl of Arundel. This lady lived till 1439, and was buried at the Priory. Her monument was also removed with her husband's, and is described in 1645 as "an altar tomb standing on the north side of the chancel on which lies the statue of a woman." . . . It had a coat of arms, viz. three water bougets, Roos . . . "to show that women anciently did bear arms." The tomb no longer exists, but the effigy, in a wimple and veil, still remains, and at her feet a dog is now placed. It is raised upon two steps, on the south side of the chancel, east of the monument to Edward, Earl of Rutland, who died 1587.[1]

In the centre of the chancel are two magnificent and exquisitely designed sixteenth-century alabaster altar tombs which have been richly painted and gilt, the easternmost to Sir Thomas Manners, Lord Roos, first Earl of Rutland, died 1543, and the Lady Eleanor, his wife, died 1551, buried at St. Leonard's, Shoreditch. The Earl is in the robes of the Garter—ermine mantle, coronet, pendant from collar (St. George, dragon, and rose), Garter round knee. His head rests on a helme, with mantling, cap of estate, and crest—the peacock with tail erect. At his feet an unicorn, horn missing. On his surcoat has been painted quarterly Manners, Tiptoft, and Badlesmere. The Countess has robes and ruffled gown, coronet over a close-plaited and jewelled cap, which shows her hair, a four-row chain necklet with pendant heart, her sleeves purfled like lawn and

[1] From the costume, which is *temp.* Edward II. or III., this effigy cannot be that of Margaret, Lady Roos; more probably, from having the Roos arms, it commemorates a female Roos; or it may be the "old monument" mentioned by Wyrley (*ob.* 1617) "of a lady with 10 shields, having on them alternately the arms of Ros, and *ermine* a fess"; in which case it might represent the wife of a Roos.

ruffled, at her feet a griffin. On her mantle has been painted, *or*, a chevron between three talbots' heads *gules; gules* a chevron between three bears' heads *azure;* and quarterly, *gules* and *azure*, on a chief *gules* three hearts.

On the north side of the tomb stand six daughters with their hands raised, two with spread palms; on the south side five sons in surcoats and mail, three with spread palms, and one daughter.

The second or westernmost is to Henry Manners, Earl of Rutland, died 1563, and the Lady Margaret, his wife. The Earl is in that scarce description of armour known as a suit of splints with a collar and George hanging down almost to waistband, garter round knee, dagger at right side, sword in left hand, book in his right, helme with mantling and crest under his head, a unicorn at his feet. The Countess in robes with purfled and puckered sleeves, her head rests on a scroll, the hair at the back of her head reticulated with jewels, a coronet and ruff, her hands joined holding a book, at her feet a lion. Above these effigies, upon an oblong slab, carried by four gorgeously carved pillars, stands in the centre, facing north and south, an achievement of arms. Also on this slab at the head of the tomb kneel at desks their eldest son Edward in armour and their daughter Elizabeth, and at the foot their second son John, rector of Helmesley, in gown with long pendant sleeves. The inscription is in raised letters on the edge of the tomb.

There are four elaborate monuments in the Renaissance style still to be described: one to Edward, third Earl of Rutland, died 1587; one to John, fourth Earl of Rutland (his brother), who died a few months after his brother, 158$\frac{7}{8}$; one to Roger, fifth Earl of Rutland, died 1612; and the fourth and most sumptuous, both as regards scale and detail, to Francis, sixth Earl of Rutland, died 1632. These four monuments consist of altar tombs with recumbent effigies, each beneath a semicircular arch, the soffits richly panelled and surmounted by highly enriched

MONUMENTS OF THE FIRST, SECOND, AND THIRD EARLS OF RUTLAND, BOTTESFORD CHURCH.

entablatures carried by Corinthian columns. In the case of Earl Francis's monument another arch and entablature is superimposed, the whole being so lofty that it reaches up into the roof. All these, built of alabaster and various-coloured marbles, are lavishly decorated with coats of arms.

The westernmost one on the south side is to Edward, Earl of Rutland, who died 14th April 1587, and the Countess Isabel, his wife. The effigies show him in robes, ruffs, and armour, bareheaded, garter on knee, long cordon, and with a bull's head at his feet; the Countess in ermine robes, high toupée, ruff, sleeves embroidered and wristbands puckered close. Their only child and daughter is kneeling at their feet in a ruff, sleeves like her mother's, and dressed hair. Facing on the north wall is the monument to John, fourth Earl of Rutland, who died 158$\frac{7}{8}$, and the Countess Elizabeth, his wife. The effigies show him in armour, and between him and the Countess kneels a daughter and at their feet a son. Along the front of the tomb kneel three more sons, all in armour, and two daughters in gowns and ruff and with hair dressed. At the foot a small boy with gown and cloak, and hands in prayer. The inscription states that he died at Nottingham in 1587, "frõ whence his corps was hither brought and buried on the 2nd day of April following 1588." On the dies of the pedestals to the columns is inscribed on the westernmost: "Thes two Tombes for Edward and John, Erles of Rutland, were forded and erected in October 1591;" and on the easternmost: "By that most Honorable and vertvous Countes Elizabeth, wife to Erle John."

The monument eastward is to Roger, fifth Earl of Rutland, who died 1612, and the Countess Elizabeth, his wife, sole daughter of Sir Philip Sidney, of noble memory. He is in ermine robes and coronet and armour, his head on a cushion; at his feet the peacock, with tail erect. She in ermine robes, ruff, horse-shoe cap and coronet, her head on a cushion, ruffles, her hands in prayer. At her feet a hedgehog, spines missing.

The fourth monument, the easternmost on the south side, is to Francis, sixth Earl of Rutland, died 1632; his two wives and the two children, sacrificed, as was then believed, to the evil spells of the Belvoir witches, "dyed in infancy from wicked practice and sorcerie." The Earl lies between his two wives, each effigy lying on receding higher planes above a sarcophagus. The Earl's head, with coronet, rests on embroidered pillow, beard peaked, ermine mantle with insignia of the Garter, trunk hose and shoes with roses; at his feet a peacock, with tail erect. His first wife (Frances), nearest the front, is sculptured as a young woman, with coronet and red robe, plaited falling ruff, mantle with close cordon and tassels, bodice and purfled sleeves with ruffles; a lion at her feet. The second wife (Cecily, died 1653, buried in Westminster Abbey) in black robe and ruff, hair turned back under a jewelled skull-cap, single row of pearls round neck, open ruff, low stomacher richly ornamented with lace; from the left shoulder rows of pearls encircle the arm and one row round the waist; a sea lion sejant at her feet. At the foot of the effigies two children kneeling, one behind the other; at the head is a kneeling figure, coronet on head and with hands closed in prayer, of Katharine, the Earl's daughter by his first wife; she afterwards became Duchess of Buckingham. Above the lower cornice are two small black horses and escutcheons, in which the principal quarterings are those of Tufton and Knevitt. On a small stone in the floor in front of the monument is cut—

Fr. E. of R^{d}
Was Bur^{d}
Feb^{y} y^{e} 20th
1632

This seems to confirm the belief that the monument was erected during the Earl's lifetime, as was not very unusual, for the date of his death in the inscription is omitted.

Nichols records of these monuments that early in the year 1782 the Rev. William Mounsey began their repair, "not only director, but operator in every respect, no workman ever entered the church but himself, not even a common labourer for the drudgery."

There are two other monuments—to George, seventh Earl, died 1641, and John, eighth Earl of Rutland, died 1679 (his Countess is standing on his left in loose drapery), both executed in white and black marble, Roman toga type, and several recent wall-tablets recording burials of other members of the family in feebly "correct Gothic" taste.

There used to be in the churchyard a stone figure of a woman in a head-dress, hands folded in prayer, said by tradition to be the fair maid of Normanton. This is now within the church at the west end of the south aisle, and on the front of the stone upon which it is placed is inscribed, "Fair Maid of Normanton, brought from the Church Yard 1905."

The following entries, with reference to payments for the erection of some of the tombs, are taken from the Belvoir MSS.[1] They are exceedingly interesting in themselves, and additionally so when applied to the examination of the actual work.

Among the accounts of the Executors of the Will of Thomas Earl of Rutland, 1543–4—

"Paid to Richard Parker, the alabaster man, in parte of payment of xx*li* for makyng a tombe of alabastre for my Lorde and my Ladye to be sett at Botelford accordying to the effect of an indenture thereof made vj*li*, xiiij*s*, iiij*d*."

Account of Thomas Fairebarne, 1590–1—

"Paide, the xvjth of Octobre anno 1591 to M^{r} Garret Johnson tolme maker the somme of one hunderith poundes of laufull Englishe monye in full paiment of towe hunderithe poundes for the makinge of towe tolmes and settinge the same up at Bottesford for the towe Erles, Lord Edward and Lord John, C*li*."

[1] *Hist. MSS. Com.*, Belvoir MSS., vol. iv.

Account of Richard Collyshawe, 1591–2—

"Paid, the xxiiijth day of Februarii 1591 (2) to John Mathewe, of Nottingham, painter, in parte for inricheinge the ij tombes of the towe Earles deceased and of there counteyseises and there children lyinge in Bottesforthe Churche vj*li*, vj*s*, viij*d*."

"Paid the iiijth of Aprill 1592 to John Mathewe of Nottingham, painter in full payment of twentye pounde for inrichinge the towe tombes in Bottesforthe xiij*li*, xiij*s*, iiij*d*."

"Paid, the xjth of Julii anno 1592 by th'andes of Danyell Carpenter for the conveyinge of the iron grattes for the tombes from Gainseborowe to Newarke by water, viij*s*, liij*d*."

Account of William Sexton, 1616–1618—

"Paid for making of indentures of convenantes and bandes for erecting a tombe at Bottesforth for the late Earle Roger and the late Countesse, diceassed, 105."

"Paid Nycolas Johnson advansed in part of paiment for the said tomb 50*li*."

"Paid to Nycholas Johnson tomb maker in full payment for the finishinge of the monument erected at Botesforth for the late Earle Roger of Ruttland 100*li*, there having been formerly paied 50*li* in full paiment of the Agreement of 150*li*—100*li*."

In the Accompte of Mr. John Eyre, 1642—

"item paied in part of a further summe to him that is to make my Lord George his tombe 5*li*."

Grinling Gibbons to John, Earl of Rutland—

"1686 July 12.—Receipt for 100*l* for two tombs made by him. *Signed*."

BRADGATE

In the now ruinous chapel at Bradgate in Charnwood Forest is the fine monument, much injured by exposure and neglect, to Henry Grey, Baron Grey of Groby, and Anne, daughter of William Cecil, Lord Burghley, Earl of Exeter, his wife. He was created first Earl of Stamford in 1628, and died 1673. It consists of an altar tomb, with the effigies and coats of arms under a semicircular arch, flanked by columns which carry an entablature surmounted by coat

STAMFORD MONUMENT, BRADGATE CHAPEL.

of arms, supporters, and crest. He is in armour, rests against his helme and crest (a unicorn saliant, a full sun behind, proper). At his feet a pair of gauntlets. Beside him to the front lies his wife, robed, hands joined in prayer, a long ruff, a gown and short jacket, small girdle round waist, with long chain and tassels.

The Earl came perilously near the fate of some of his ancestors, having joined the Parliamentary forces in the Civil War, urged by his eldest son, Thomas, Lord Grey, one of those who signed the death-warrant for the execution of King Charles I.

BREEDON

In the Shirley Chapel is a beautiful alabaster and marble monument, painted and gilt, to "Johanni Shirlie, Armigero, de Staunton Harrauld . . . Obiit Anno Salutis 1570 die Septembris 14." His recumbent effigy is in armour with book between uplifted hands; double chain round neck, left side a sword, right a dagger and gauntlets. At his feet a lion. On the front of the tomb three coats of arms; on a circlet to the centre coat, "Vivit post Funera Virtus." Round the edge the substance of the above inscription is repeated, but "Obiit Vero decimo tertio die Septembris Aº Dñi Millesimo quingentesimo Septuagesimo."

Another very fine monument, an altar tomb with two recumbent effigies, "In memorie of Frauncis Shirley, Esquire, the very pattrene of hospitalitie and of the famouse woman Dorothie his wieff who bothe died in the yere of our Lord God MºCCCCCºLXXIº their executours made this monument." His head reclines on his helmet and crest, he has a long beard, hair short, book in hand, double chain round neck, sword left side, dagger richly ornamented on his right. At his feet a lion. Her head rests on an ornamental cushion, hair short under a laced cap, long close-fitting dress, bodice tied with small cords, a ruff and triple chain round neck, book in hand, from the girdle round waist hangs a chain at the end of which is fastened a cross and a case.

On the front of the tomb are figures of three sons and four daughters. The eldest son in armour with shield of arms, second son an infant in shroud, and third son in armour also with shield of arms. Three of the daughters have the same ornamental chain, the first, third, and fourth have shields, the second none. At the west end of the tomb are two shields with arms; round one "Dorothie Shirley, daughter to Sir John Gifford, Knight," and round the other "De sire . . . y fo."

A third costly monument in alabaster and touch painted and gilt is to George Shirley and his wife, both kneeling in prayer under double arches. He is represented in half-armour. Behind him are two sons. She is in flowing robes, her hair in three rows of small curls under a cap ornamented with a riband of pearls; a ruff and chain round her neck, small ruffles at her wrists, sleeves large and puckered, a mantle thrown back. Behind her a daughter and an infant in a hooded cradle. At the east of the tomb is another infant in a hooded cradle and Anno Domini 1598. At each end is an oval blank shield. Under the above tomb stands an alabaster coffin on which is the figure of a skeleton. The monument is in two tiers, the upper one in double compartments surmounted by entablature and broken pediment, upon which recline figures, a coat of arms between.

BROOKSBY

There is in this church a mural monument with Corinthian columns, cornice, arms, helm, and crest above. Within the two semicircular arches are upright figures of the last Sir William Villiers, died 27th day of February 1711–12, and Anne his wife. He is in full Court suit, loose gown, square-toed shoes, buckles and rolled-up stockings. She is in an elegant loose gown. This monument, though only just beyond the seventeenth century, is interesting as it very well illustrates the commencement of what

was termed the posture of self-assertion in the introductory remarks.[1]

Also in the church is a large slab of alabaster, sadly mutilated, but originally of remarkably fine fifteenth-century incised work to Will'mus Villers and his two wives Julia and Agnes.

BURBAGE. *See* ASTON FLAMVILLE.

BURROW, OR BURROUGH-ON-THE-HILL

The effigy of William de Stockden, died 1470, lies under the east wall of the south aisle. It is unfortunately much mutilated. Angels supported the pillow, the lion at feet is in fair preservation, and bears round his neck a shield—the Stockden arms. The details of helmet, armour, and sword belt are good. In a corresponding position in the north aisle is the effigy of Margareta, his wife, very mutilated, and the remains of a lion at the feet.

The inscription, which has disappeared, ran, "Hic jacet Willielmus de Stockden, quondam de Erdburrowe, et Margareta uxor ejus, filia Johannis Skeffington, qui Willielmus obiit 1470."[2]

CARLTON-CURLIEU

In a small chapel on the north side of the chancel is an alabaster and black marble monument to "Dom. Johannes Bale, eques auratus" . . . 1621, and "Francesca uxor ejus dignissima" . . . 1629. The monument is divided into two tiers. He is in one, she in the other; in the left upper compartment stand, to a smaller scale, three sons in armour and one in swaddling clothes, each having over their heads the coats of arms of the family, and in the right compartment a daughter and two other sons in

[1] This monument is probably the work of Francis Bird.
[2] The fashion of the armour is considerably earlier than 1470.

armour and with coats of arms also. Between the two inscriptions, below the effigies, is the arms of Bale impaling: *sable* a lion rampant guardant *or*, Brocas; and above the family achievement of six coats.

CASTLE DONINGTON

On the north side of the church is a beautiful alabaster altar tomb, formerly very richly gilt, to "Robertus Hasylryg," died 1529, and his wife "Elenora."

Near the altar on the north side of the chancel, under an arch with trefoil cusps, is the effigy of an ecclesiastic. Some suppose it to be that of Sir William de Clowne, others that of one of the Priors of Norton. Above his head is a crocketed canopy; his hands are raised in prayer, and at his feet is a lion.

There is also an altar tomb inlaid with brass (part gone), now placed at the east end of the north aisle, to Robert Staunton and Agnes, his wife, about 1458.

CHURCH LANGTON

Under a crocketed and cusped arch in the south aisle, coeval with the church (corresponding with one in the north aisle), is an effigy in armour, much mutilated. "Heer · lyeth · buried · the · body · of · Sir · Richard · Roberts · knight · aged · 80 · years · Oct · the · 30 · Ano · dni · 1644." The old knight was a zealous Royalist, having been named by King Charles in the original Commission of Array, and local tradition has it that during the Civil War the soldiery purposely mutilated the effigy. It is in a fair state of preservation, but both the feet have been hacked off.

CLAWSON

In the south transept there lies a large stone figure of a knight removed from the north chapel. It is sadly

mutilated, owing to many years of bad usage by children when the chapel was used as a village school. Nichols describes the figure as being in complete armour, upon whose shield are three bird bolts. He is cross-legged, a dog at his feet. Locally he is known as Bosoone or Bozon, the owner of an ancient house near the church.

COLE ORTON

On the south wall of the south aisle is a beautiful altar tomb in a good state of preservation, with figures of Sir Henry Beaumont, Knight, died 1607, and Lady Elizabeth, his wife, died 1608. They lie within an arch, with cornice, arms, and crest above. Thomas, their eldest son, is shown in armour, kneeling at a desk in centre compartment of the tomb, with a shield of arms. This Sir Thomas Beaumont and his eldest son, Sapcote, and grandson, Thomas, successively Viscounts Beaumont, suffered greatly in the Royalist cause, their estates being wholly sequestrated by the usurping powers. Tradition says that Cromwell made the house at Cole Orton his headquarters during the attack on the castle of Ashby-de-la-Zouch.

COSSINGTON

At the foot of the east window of the north aisle of the chancel is an effigy of a priest in his Mass vestments; it has been somewhat battered, though the vestments are quite sufficiently clear. His head rests on a lozenge-shaped cushion; there is no inscription. This effigy is believed to have been beneath the fine fourteenth-century canopy, so commanding a feature on the north side of the chancel; but during the restoration, in the time of Rector Mayor's incumbency, a fifteenth-century effigy was put in its place—perhaps it was in a better condition! He is also supposed to be a priest of Cossington; he has a furred almuce; the prayer for his soul has been obliterated.

DALBY ON THE WOLDS

There are in the chancel two very fine but sadly defaced monuments with effigies of the Noel family. One, an altar tomb of alabaster, inscribed: "Here lyeth m̃ Andrewe Noell esquyer disceased ye xxiii day of januarie, Ano Dn̄i 1562 and Dorythe his wyfe dysceassed añ dn̄i 1548 And Dame Elizabethe Peryent, nowe lyving and late wyfe to ye said Andrewe Noell, whose soulles God pardon." The other a large and handsome monument nearly opposite, with effigies of Andrew Noel, who died 1607, and his wife. Motto: "Tout bien ov Rien." He is in full armour.

At the north-east end there is an exceedingly interesting and diminutive altar tomb with effigy of a lady between the effigies of two men in full armour, with large flowing beards and greyhounds at their feet. At the head, on the side of the tomb, two boys and three girls. The inscription runs: "Thes be ye pyctturs of J̄hon Hopton, esquier, aꝰ his wyfe and aftd wyfe uto Sir Thom̄ Tyrull, Knyght." The date is about 1550. Arms: *argent* two chevrons *gules* within a border engrailed *sable*, Clare; on the west end Hopton, impaling Clare.

EASTWELL

On north side of chancel, under an arch, is a stone effigy of a bareheaded priest, with canopy over, in the alb, stole, chasuble and maniple; hands joined in front and chalice on breast. It is a fine memorial of a Parish priest of the fourteenth century, but locally called a Danish priest.

EDMONDTHORPE

In the south aisle there is a large and sumptuous monument of alabaster and black marble in excellent preservation. Under the semicircular arch are the effigies of Sir

Roger Smith and of his two wives (Jane Heron and Ann Goodman): "Here lieth the grave and religious Sir Roger Smith, Knight," &c. All three recline in life size; the knight, with a Bible in his hand and his left hand on his breast, at the top; the wives below, their right arms resting on a pillow. At each side of the monument is a pedestal with a niche and a bust. That on the right is of Edward, eldest son of Sir Roger, died 1632, and that on the left is of Roger, grandson of Sir Roger Smith, and eldest son of Edward Smith, died 1646. Above the centre arch and the side niches are coats of arms.

FENNY DRAYTON

Here there is an altar tomb of beautiful early Renaissance work to Nicholas Purefoy, died 1543, and Jane, his wife.

Also a superb monument of marble to George Purefoy, died 1628, and two of his three wives, Mary and Jane. It is surmounted by a canopy carried by six Corinthian columns; his effigy lies at full length in military garb. Below are six of his children kneeling, and above in the two compartments his two wives, Mary and Jane, kneeling at desks, each facing east.

William Purefoy, one of the judges who signed King Charles's death warrant, is said to have been of this family.

FOSTON

Against the north wall of the north aisle is a quaint and very interesting monument with recumbent effigies of Henry Fawnt, who died in 1665, and Barbara, his second wife, who died in 1645. An angel at their head and another at their feet draw back a curtain before an arched recess, within which is a centre panel with the inscription, the lettering restored and now very legible, and smaller side panels with sculpture in slight relief. The comprising arch

above had formerly along its face seventeen different impalements of the Fawnt family; seven of these remain. At each end of the monument are the arms of Fawnt, single. The monument was erected at the charge of his daughter Mary, by his wife Barbara (his first wife, Margaret, died without issue); the arms are emblazoned, and other parts of the work retain more or less of the original colouring.

FROLESWORTH

On the south side of the chancel is a large and effective altar tomb, "To Francis Staresmore," Knight of the Shire, Deputy-Lieutenant of the county, &c., died 1626. He is shown at full length in armour, arms and crest of Staresmore. On the north side are the effigies of eight children (two of them in cradles) by his wife Frances Brocas; on the south side three children by his wife Christian Chippindale.

The monument, erected by Frances, his widow, "To the memory of her beloved husband" in 1631, is an exceedingly fine composition, has been carefully preserved, and is in good condition. It is almost certainly the work of Nicholas Stone; it is not, however, included in Mr. Bullock's book on Stone's work published last year.

On an altar tomb on the north side of the chancel is this inscription: "To Mrs. Frances Staresmore, died 1657, was this monument erected 1658;" and on its north side: "To me to live is Christ, to dye is gaine." She lies at full length enveloped in a shroud, the face only being visible. Arms of Staresmore and Brocas impaled and Brocas single repeated both sides of tomb.

GADDESBY

At the east end of north aisle there is an altar tomb with an effigy in armour, with collar of S.S., and a dagger on right side. His head rests on a helme, hands raised

Monument of Andrew Noel and Elizabeth Peryent, Dalby on the Wolds Church.

in prayer, at his feet a dog. On the front, within quatrefoil panels, are four blank shields. Date about 1500.

GREAT EASTON

Within the north wall of the chancel, under a very graceful late fourteenth-century arched recess enriched with carving and with crocketed ogeed label, is an effigy in alabaster lying on a stone slab; but there is no trace of an inscription. The effigy is clearly that of a priest in chasuble, hands in prayer. Angels apparently supported the cushion for the head, and it is certainly of earlier date than the recess. The slab upon which the effigy rests may have been the old altar stone.

HINCKLEY

On the north wall of chancel is a monument containing two busts of John Oneby, died 1692, and his wife; underneath are the portraits of five children.

HUMBERSTONE

At the east end of the north aisle is a tomb about 7 feet long by 3 feet wide, and 3 feet 6 inches high. The top slab is of alabaster, on which is incised a figure in plate armour, pillow under head, sword at side, and a dog under his feet looking towards him. Round the edge are the following parts of an inscription: "Hic jacet Ricardus . . . Hotoft, Armiger, qui obiit . . . die mensis Aprilis . . . Anno Dom MCCCCLX. Cuj' a'i'e ppiciet' Deus. Amen." The tomb has always been said to belong to Baron Gripple, but of him or Richard Hotoft nothing is known.

ILSTON

In the chancel is an alabaster mural monument having below a man and wife kneeling. They face each other;

behind him three sons, behind her three daughters, each named. The inscription panel states: "Near this place lies interred Elizabeth, wife of John Nedham, Gent, and daughter of Richard Kinge of Ashby-de-la-Laude, in Linc. Esq. She left 3 sons and 3 daughters, and died the 26 of February An° D'ni 1639." The monument is surmounted by a broken pediment with shield of arms, Nedham; impaling: *sable*, on a chevron engrailed *argent*, three scallops of the first, King. Crest: on a helmet arising out of a crown, a phœnix issuing out of flames proper. Below the monument between a scroll is a death's-head, "Mors mihi lucrum, 1656." Within quite recent times the organ has been placed in front of this monument.

KING'S NORTON

On the north wall of the chancel is a monument, in a fair state of preservation, to "Will'm Whalley, Esq.," died 1632, and "Frances his wife." . . . "William, his third son, erected this at his owne charges." The children are all kneeling on cushions in prayer.

KIRBY BELLARS

There are two effigies within arched recesses in this church, and there can be little doubt the male figure is that of the eldest son of the slain Lord Beler, Sir Roger Beler, who died in 1381, and the female that of one of his five wives, possibly Mary his last, who survived him. The effigies are somewhat mutilated. He is in armour, camail and bascinet, head resting on helme, coronet round head, and a lion rampant *argent*, on his surcoat; his feet rest on a lion. She has a veil head-dress, and a long mantle descending to the feet; the upper part has cords and tassels. Her feet rest on two dogs playing together.

Effigy in Gaddesby Church.

Monument of Francis, Earl of Huntingdon, St. Helen's Church, Ashby-de-la-Zouch.

KIRBY MALLORY

On the north side of the chancel is a monument with recumbent effigy of Sir William Noel, Baronet, died 1675. He had two wives; the second, Frances, erected the monument four years after his death, "and continues a Mourner stil." He lies on a sarcophagus in plate armour, leaning on right arm, with helmet in hand; he wears a wig; has his feet crossed. The monument is surmounted by an entablature and pediment containing coat of arms.

LAUNDE. See *ante* p. 135.

LEICESTER, ST. MARGARET'S CHURCH

On the north side of the chancel is the beautifully sculptured early sixteenth-century effigy in alabaster of Dr. John Penny, who died in 1520, one of the last Abbots of Leicester, and sometime Bishop of Bangor and Carlisle. The Bishop is vested with mitre, his head resting on a double cushion; he wears a maniple, and has a pastoral staff under left arm, the head of which is elaborately carved; he has a jewelled ring on fourth finger of right hand and on second and fourth fingers of the left. The nose has been restored. There is no trace of an inscription or of arms. Formerly the tomb was at the west end of the north aisle. It is interesting to note the form of the tomb in Nichols's time; he gives an illustration of this. The effigy was raised on a stone block a few inches above the ground, and lay within an open tomb, above which was a coped slab supported by six plain uprights. The effigy is now placed upon a modern altar tomb. Some suppose he was originally buried at Leicester Abbey, but had this been so it is more than likely that the monument would have been destroyed at the dissolution of the Abbey in 1537, as was that of the great Cardinal Wolsey's.

LEICESTER, THE COLLEGIATE CHURCH OF ST. MARY DE CASTRO

In Nichols's time there stood on the south side of the altar a very large mural monument, "To the precious memory of Hugh Watts, gent.," died 1656, "and Jane his wife." Arms of Watts, three greyhounds erased, ducally gorged *or;* impaling, *sable*, a chevron between three owls *argent*, crowned *or*, Burton of Stockerston. Crest, a greyhound, *sable*, ducally gorged *or*. This monument is now erected on the west wall of what is called the St. Anne's Chapel.

LEICESTER, ST. MARTIN'S CHURCH

There is a very curious mural monument on the north wall of the north aisle to John Whatton and his two wives, dated 1656. The inscription is by his second wife, who survived him.

In the chapel at the east end of the north aisle are many of the exceedingly interesting Swithland slate headstones, referred to in the "Digression" on the very clever use of this material in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

LEICESTER, TRINITY HOSPITAL

A female effigy lies on the north side of the sanctuary, and is in a fair state of preservation. It is placed on a block of alabaster, having four shields, upon which were probably painted arms, but no trace is left of this. The head is supported by two small angels; the costume and head-dress are both very simple. No inscription or lettering of any kind remains. It appears to be fourteenth-century work.

This stone effigy was long thought to have been that of Mary de Bohun, mother of Henry V., but from an

Effigy of Bishop Penny, St. Margaret's Church, Leicester.

entry in an Exchequer Roll it appears that her "image" was made by a "coppersmith"; thus it must commemorate some other noble lady.

LOCKINGTON

Against the north wall of the chancel is a large arcaded monument, in good preservation, to William Bainbrigge, Esq., died 1617, and Elizabeth, his wife, died 1624, to whose memory William, their youngest son, caused this to be placed in 1625. He is shown in a gown, ruff, and round cap. She in ruff and hood turned up and falling forward. Behind him four sons in trunk hose, kneeling. Behind her nine daughters. Over him is the coat of arms of Bainbrigge; over her Bainbrigge impaling Chard. The monument is surmounted by a coat of arms and crest (Bainbrigge single and this motto, "Yost tenebras lucem").

In the Hemington Chapel is a beautiful alabaster altar tomb, supposed to be of Elizabeth Ferrers, second wife of John Devereux, Lord Ferrers of Chartley. Date about 1500. She is represented with a coronet and hair falling below her elbows, treble necklace, from which hangs a cross patée, robe with long sleeves, narrow girdle and mantle, fingers of hands gone. Her head rests on a double cushion, the upper held by angels. One foot is missing. A dog is running down left side, head gone. On the ledge, Burton says, was inscribed, "Hic jacet corpus Domine Elizabethe Ferrers de Chartley que Elizabetha obiit 15" . . . but of this only "Hic jac" now remains. On the north side of the tomb are double canopies, under which are six figures of bearded monks in cowls, one with book and crutch, three with rosary, and one with book and purse at his side. On the south six more, three holding books, two rosaries, and one a rosary and a book. At the head and foot of the tomb are two angels holding a shield, now blank.

LUTTERWORTH

Under an arch at the east end of the north aisle is a late fifteenth-century alabaster monument, in good repair, to a member of the Feilding family (ancestor of the Earls of Denbigh) and his wife. The effigy of the man is notable from his representation in a mixture of civil costume and armour, which is rare; he has on a gown bordered and purfled with fur, loose sleeves, displaying elbows and lower limbs encased in plate armour, plate gorget, diagonal sword belt, lower part of sword only left. The clubbed hair and broad-toed Sabbatons denote the period of Henry VII. The lady has veiled head-dress, gown and mantle. At the sides of the tomb are angels holding shields, now blank, and at the top the figure of an angel carrying a soul to heaven in a napkin.

MEDBOURNE

An effigy, much mutilated and both legs gone, lies under a cusped and ogeed arch in the south transept. It probably represents the founder of the transept, which appears to be the latest addition to the church.

MELTON MOWBRAY

In the south transept there is a very charming fourteenth-century altar tomb to a lady (from the arms one of the Burges family); she lies recumbent, her head resting on a cushion supported by two angels with wings and long robes. Her hair is raised in front and reticulated with jewels, face and hands modern; she has mitten sleeves, surcoat fastened by nine jewelled studs, and a necklace round her throat. At her feet two dogs with collars, mouths engaged. The foot of the tomb is against the transept wall. On the west end is a shield and three on either side within cusped panels. The painting is modern.

In the south aisle, under a semicircular arch, is a cross-legged knight in hood and hauberk of mail; his shield on his left arm bearing *gules* a lion rampant *argent;* his sword is under it, his belt is plated, and there is a dog at his feet. Right hand missing and lower part of sword. An iron helmet of later date, discovered when the chancel floor was lowered, is hung within the arch. A small slate tablet states, "This is the Lord Hamon Belers, Lord Mowbray." It certainly commemorates a Beler, for a Harleian MS. of 1583 notes, "There lieth one Bellers," and describes the tinctures of the shield as party per pale *gules* and *sable* a lion rampant *azure*, the original Beler arms. The shield has been repainted in later years.

MISTERTON

In the chancel, on a large altar tomb, is an effigy in plate armour excellently sculptured. Round the ledge of the tomb is the following inscription: "+ Here lyeth buryed Mychel Pulteney, esquire, sũtyme lorde of Pulteney and Misterton, who departed owt of thys worlde the XXII. daie of Maie Año Dñi M°CCCCC°LXVII., on whose soulle the Lorde hathe taken mercy." He has a long beard, a ruff, a double chain, a dagger by his side, and one of his gauntlets near his right hand. Under his head a helmet with crest, a Moor's head. At his feet a lion. At the head and foot are the arms of Pulteney surrounded by their motto, "Panse bien." On the south side are the shields of arms—Lucels, Massey, Thorpe, and Derby; and in the centre quarterly in 10 and round the shield, Michael Pulteney, Esq.; the rest indecipherable. On the north side Morley, Whymall, Davall, and Walshe; the centre same as the south side.

NAILSTONE

Nichols illustrates and describes very minutely a large altar tomb to Thomas Corbet, died 1586, serjeant of the

pantry to King Henry VIII., King Edward VI., Queen Mary and Queen Elizabeth. He lived to be ninety-four. . . . He had nineteen children in eighteen years by his first wife, and other children by a second marriage. He is shown as an old man with long peaked beard, hair short, in slashed doublet faced with ermine. At left-hand corner is a shield of arms, two ravens.

Unfortunately it has been barbarously treated. All trace of the tomb has vanished and the top slab only remains. For years it was laid flat in the flooring and a stove stood upon it, until one of the late rectors rescued it and had it placed upright against the south wall of the north or Barton aisle, where it now is.

NETHERSEALE

An interesting tomb to Roger Bayley de Dounton, otherwise Roger Dounton, rector from 1490 to 1500. The effigy is incised.

NEVILL HOLT

Against the east wall of the south transept is an alabaster tomb supported by three short black marble columns, upon which is the effigy of Sir Thomas Nevill, Knight, died 1636. "He lieth buried in the upper end of the chancell." He is armed, has head on cushion, right hand on girdle, left with sword under it. His helme, crest, and coat of mail are suspended above, and an iron sword remains at the side. Above the inscription panel, at the back of the monument and standing on pilasters, are two cherubs, and between these the coat of arms and crest, a ducal coronet *vert*, a bull's head *ermine*, armed *or*.

Against the west wall and opposite the above is an alabaster mural monument to Jane Thursby, daughter of Sir Thomas Nevill, Knight, died 1631. She is in black, with sleeves slashed, and kneels on a cushion, her hands

joined in prayer before a small faldstool, her book open. Below is the inscription panel and a cherub's head; on each side the central figure is an angel holding up a draped curtain hanging from a curved entablature, above which is a second smaller tablet with the arms. It is a very pleasing work. The original colouring on these monuments is exceptionally instructive, and owing to the iron fence across the transept they have been permanently guarded against injury in the past.

NOSELEY

There is, against the north wall of the chancel, a splendid mural altar tomb to Sir Thomas Hesilrige, Knight, who died in 1629, and Frances, his wife, who died in 1668. He lies at full length in half-armour, his head resting on helme and plume, his gauntlets under his feet, and below these the family crest. She lies in close-fitting robes, large ruff, hair closely combed back under a cap studded with gold, and at the back of her head, which rests on a cushion, a veil unopened. Both have their hands closed in prayer. Over these effigies, placed upon the cornice, are kneeling figures of eight sons and six daughters, their robes painted parti-colour of green and red and ornamented with gold. On the front of the tomb are shields of arms.

Eastward of the above is another large and meritorious mural altar tomb to Sir Arthur Hesilrige, Baronet, who died in $166\frac{9}{1}$; he lies between his two wives, Frances and Dorothy. The upper one lies sideways, her head resting on her right hand, her left holding a book. On the front of the tomb are the figures of the children, first those by the first wife, then those by the second.

ORTON-ON-THE-HILL

There is here an effigy of an ecclesiastic (probably an abbot of Merevale) with his hands in prayer, trefoil canopy

over his head, and a dog at his feet. It is preserved over the entrance to Perkins's vault and is in a fair state of preservation. There are also two other interesting memorials in the church: a tomb of a priest with cross or staff, chalice, and missal; and a coffin-shaped tomb with a Maltese cross on one end, and a miniature effigy of a mounted man in armour on the other. There is a very fine alabaster incised slab to "Will'mi Foster armig' . . . Anno D'ni Mill'o CCCCCºXVº," which until about four years ago had been covered by pews for probably 150 years. It was found in the south-east corner of the south aisle.

PEATLING MAGNA

Here is a table monument to William Jervis, died 1597, and Katherine his wife. On the top slab are incised figures of himself and wife, heads on pillows, battlements above and shield of arms between. An inscription round the edge. On the south front are sculptured thirteen children, two infants, and on the west five, four being infants.

There is another table monument under a thirteenth-century arch on the north side to William Jervis, died 1614, and Anne and Frances his wives, over which has been put the arms and crest of Jervis: *sable*, a chevron *ermine* between three hawks *argent*: crest, an eagle's head *or*, between two wings *ermine*. Sculptured on the front are five children, and in the centre arms, quarterly, 1 and 4, Jervis; 2 and 3, *sable*, three pairs of hands in gauntlets *or*, Purefoy.

Also an interesting mural monument to William Jervis, died 1618, and Elizabeth his wife; the latter "consecrated this monument, who afterwards married with Richard Roberts, knight." He is in gown and ruff, she in close dress, both kneeling at a desk, on the front of which is a shield of arms, Jervis impaling Shepherd. The monument is flanked by Corinthian columns carrying an entablature, broken in the centre to take the inscription panel, above which the cornice becomes semicircular.

PECKLETON

In the chancel under an ogee and cusped arch is the effigy of a knight in mail with shield and cross-legged. His wife lies by him. There has been considerable controversy as to the original inscription; it is thought to have been "Hic jacet Will'mus Grimesby et Dña Aña Moton uxor ejus." The Dña Aña Moton is still quite clear; but the first part of the inscription is hidden against the wall. Some state it to have been to Dom̃ Robertus Moton.

Under an arch in the south wall of the chancel is the recumbent effigy of a civilian of the fourteenth century. The features of the face are obliterated, but the head is bare. The personage represented is habited in a long gown or coat, the *tunica talaris*, with close-fitting sleeves; the hands are joined in prayer, the feet rest against a mutilated animal, and the head reposes on a lozenge pillow.

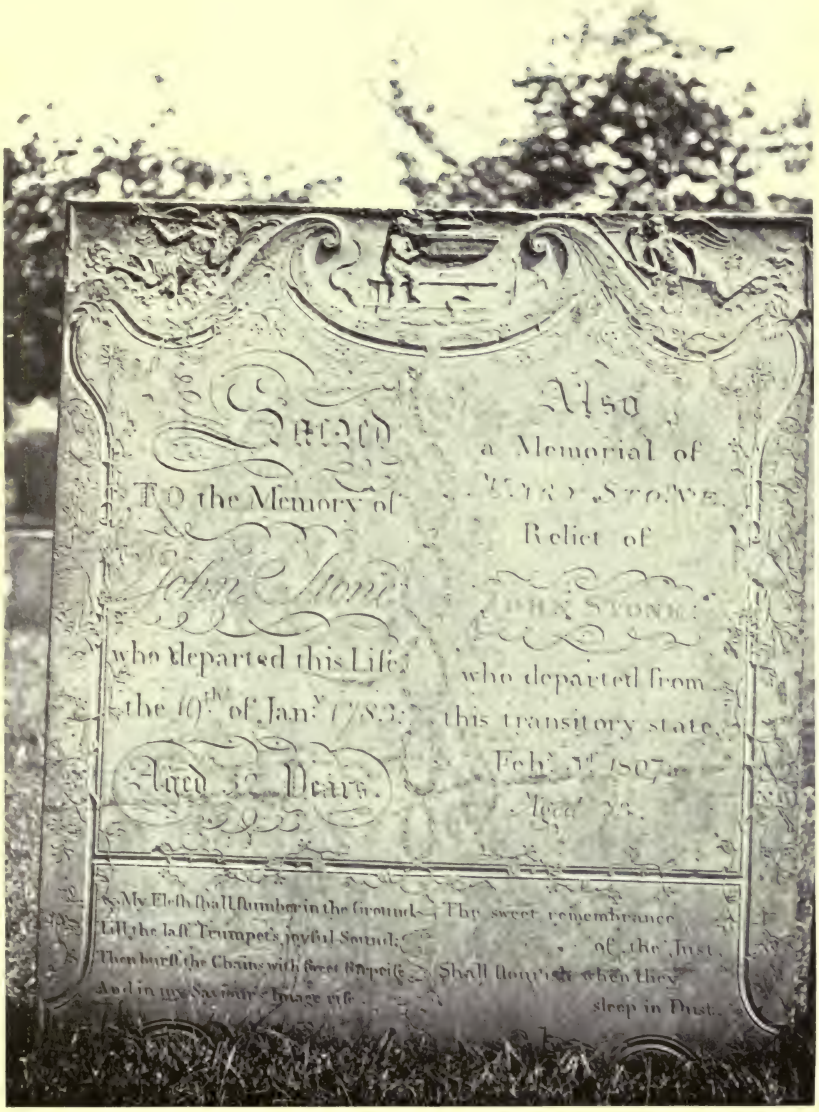
The incised slabs and brasses alluded to by Nichols have all disappeared.

PRESTWOLD

Formerly in the middle of the chancel, but now placed towards the south side, but free of the wall, is an alabaster altar tomb with the figures of two ladies. (There is a tradition in the parish that they were the builders of Swarkston Bridge.) That on the south has a pedimental head-dress, double necklace of square links with pendant, bodice open, cordon hanging across to the right, two cushions with angels under head, at her feet a dog. That on the north has practically the same dress, but slightly varied in its details and ornaments. At her feet a dog running. Ten monks sit round the sides of the tomb within shallow cusped panels with blank shields over each. This tomb had once a canopy over it; of this only the lower part of the north-west shaft remains. There is no inscription nor date, but it would

appear to be rather earlier than the altar tomb to Richard Neel placed against the east end of the north wall of the chancel. This tomb, also of alabaster, has figures at the sides; on the south, six panels with cusping and pinnacled buttresses between, contain alternately three monks in cowls with rosaries (the first and third have crutches also) and three angels holding shields; on the west side there are three similar panels, containing a monk in the centre one and an angel with shield either side. On the top slab is incised the figure of a man in gown and coif, and of a woman in a close gown, long straight sleeves, furred cuffs, divided veil head-dress reticulated over hair. "I'hu mercy and thy grace of m'cy into us m'm's lyfe," between them a shield, which Nichols gives as, Quarterly 1, Nele; 2, Storey; 3, a chevron between three annulets *azure;* 4, *argent*, 3 pales *sable* and on a canton a cross. Over the figures are three crocketed canopies with finials, and between, smaller canopies with figures bearing shields. The inscription round the edge runs, "Hic jacent Rycard' Neel . . . et Isabella uxor ei' que Isabella obiit;" and Nichols adds, "MCCCC septuagesimo ferto. Quorum animabus propitietur Deus omnipotens, Amen;" but this is not clear.

On the south side opposite the above is a large monument in alabaster and black and coloured marbles to Sir William Skipwith of Cootes, Knight, who died in 1610, and the Lady Jane, his second wife, who erected this monument at her own cost in 1631. His first wife was Margaret Cave, the daughter of Roger Cave of Stanford "in Leaster-sheere," by whom he had four sons and four daughters, "the eldest whereof is Sir Henry Skipwith, knight and Barronett." He had a peaked beard, plate armour, trunk hose, and a sword by his side. At his feet his crest. She wears a mantle, ruff and hood falling back. His and her hands in prayer. The effigies (and enrichments) have been gilt and coloured, and lie under an arch, above which is an entablature, surmounted by a small broken pediment containing an achievement of arms with twenty



Slate Headstone, Quorndon Churchyard.

coats. Crest, a turnpike *gules* the foot *or*. In the panel at the back of the arch is an epitaph, and beneath the effigies on two panels of black marble are the inscriptions.

Against the north wall of the chancel is a gracefully proportioned monument to Christopher Packe of Coates. He wears the robes of a Lord Mayor of London, collar of S.S., portcullis and rose; at the west end are the mace, sword, cap of Maintenance, &c., with the arms of London; at the east end the arms of Packe, Quarterly *sable* and *or*, in dexter quarter a cinquefoil *argent*. Crest, a lion's head *or* collared *sable*. Motto, "Libertas sub Rege Pio." Behind him are his arms impaling those of his three wives. He died 1682.

QUORNDON

There are some very fine memorials to the Farnham family in the chapel on the south side of the nave. The beautiful and richly worked altar tomb in the centre of the chapel to "John Farnham, penchner to Queene Elizabeth, died in the peace of Our Lorde 1587," and "Doritie his wife," is on a large scale, being over 4 feet high, 8 feet long, and 5 feet wide. He is shown in armour and ruff; his head rests on a helmet; at his right side his wife in gown and ruff, her head rests on an embroidered cushion. A daughter kneeling is placed at the east end of the tomb. On the west are the arms of Farnham with crest, an eagle *or* wings close, preying on the back of a rabbit *argent*.

There is a mural monument on the south wall with the arms and crest of the Farnhams, but undated. It is divided into two compartments; he kneels at a desk in the east one in ruff and gown faced with fur, long sleeves and ruffles; behind him four sons in gowns and ruffs; she in the west one also kneels at a desk with two daughters behind her, all in close gowns and ruffs.

Fixed upright against the walls are four slabs with incised figure work; these are exceedingly interesting and date during the sixteenth century.

The position of the monuments has been altered since Nichols's time. In 1886–87 they were restored, and are now most carefully preserved.

RATBY

At the north-east end of the chancel is an interesting monument of alabaster and black marble inscribed, "Hic jacet Henricus Sachevrell de Morley filius et hæres Johannis Sachev armigeri qui vixit septuaginta duos años quatr menses et duodecim dies et decescit decimo quinto Junii 1620." The effigy is life-size. Over the arched head of the monument is a shield of arms. The whole is in good preservation.

RATCLIFFE-ON-THE-WREAKE

Under an arch on the north side of the chancel is the full-length stone effigy in good preservation of a secular priest in Mass vestments, his hands raised in prayer. There is a canopy above his head. Nichols states he is supposed to be Thomas de Ratcliffe, a celebrated preacher, who was born here, and was probably of the Basset family. "He was an Augustinian friar in Leicester," flourished about 1360, and died about 1389. Others think that he may be the rebuilder of the church in the early part of the fourteenth century.

ROTHLEY

Upon an altar tomb against the south wall of the chancel are the effigies at full length, with their five sons and six daughters, of "Humfred Babyngton armiger," . . . and "Eleanor uxor ejus, . . . 1444." Above the tomb is a marble tablet with busts of Matthew Babington of Temple Rothley and Anne, his wife, with the arms of Babington and Hopkins. Her inscription is rather curious, being, "Here lyeth interred near this place the body of Anne, wife of

Matthew Babington, of Temple Rothley, Esq., and daughter of Sampson Hopkins, Gent. and Alderman of the city of Coventry. They had issue four sons and eight daughters at 12 single births before the eldest was 12 years and 3 quarters old, viz., 1, Thomas; 2, Anne; 3, Matthew; 4, Jane; 5, Elizabeth; 6, Anne; 7, William; 8, Katherine; 9, Elizabeth; 10, Elizabeth; 11, Matthew; 12, being a daughter not born alive, proved also fatal to her mother, who died the 7th day of June, An. 1648, in the 33rd year of her age."

There is also a pleasing mural monument to Thomas Babington of Temple Rothley, died 1567, and Alianora, his wife, died 1570. The monument is divided into two compartments, an enriched pediment enclosing arms and crest of Babington. He is in full armour, she is in a black coif and rich gown; both kneel at a desk with books; behind him are five sons, behind her four daughters. Motto, " Foy est tout."

Beside the above there are some very fine and interesting altar tombs with incised figure work with canopies.

SAXBY

Nichols describes an altar tomb of alabaster with a figure of Robert Brokesby in mail under a canopy, with hands joined in prayer, with shield of arms and inscription round outer side, dated MDXXXI. Not a trace of this remains, nor of the mediæval church. The present church, of Italian architecture, was built in 1789, and the tomb was then no doubt destroyed.

SCRAPTOFT

In a sideways position in the south wall of the chancel is the effigy of an ecclesiastic, supposed to be a Prior of Coventry. The features are much effaced, but the chalice on the breast is still distinguishable.

SHEEPY MAGNA

Formerly in the church, but now under a modern arch at the base of the west wall of Tower, is a recumbent effigy of the fourteenth century. It represents a man in long tunic with close-fitting sleeves, a cloak over the back, the head covered with a hood; the hands hold a heart between them; at the feet the remains of some animal.

SHENTON

There is here a mural monument with two busts, with inscription panel below. Pilasters flank the busts, which are within an arcade, and above is the entablature, with broken pediment. Shield of arms and crest. It is a pleasing work to the memory of William Wollaston, Lord of the manor of Shenton, died 1666, and Anne, his wife, died 1629.

SIBSTONE

Under an arched canopy on the south side of the chancel is a stone figure of a civilian, probably the rebuilder of the church, double cushion under head, hands joined holding a heart, canopy over head, an animal at feet. No trace of an inscription; shows signs of colour.

Effigies with hands conjoined and holding a heart are often thus represented in the fourteenth century in allusion to the word of the prophet in the Book of Lamentations, "Let us lift up our Hearts with our hands to God in the Heavens," or to the Eucharistic service, both of the old and reformed ritual, "Lift up your hearts; we lift them up unto the Lord."

There is an exceedingly fine brass of John Moore, rector of Sibstone and prebendary of Osmonderley, died 1532. He wears surplice and almuce, the latter represented by lead.

SKEFFINGTON

There used to be a very interesting monument on the south wall of the chapel to Thomas Skeffington de Skeffington (died 1600) and Isabella, his wife, but the chapel is now partly organ chamber, partly vestry, heating chamber, and rubbish heap. Two arches have been made in the south wall between the chapel and the chancel, and it was no doubt then that the monument was removed and dismantled. His effigy and hers, two sons and two daughters, the achievement and the inscription panel are loose on the floor under an arched recess in the north wall. There is also a female figure, which may have been the figure above the pediment.

There is the remains of an alabaster incised floor slab, and judging from the illustration given by Nichols it must have been an uncommonly fine work, and is therefore mentioned. It is to Thomas Skeffington and Mary, his wife, with their children at their feet and an inscription round the edge, and bears date 1543.

STANFORD: THE HALL ENTIRELY AND THE PARK MAINLY IN LEICESTERSHIRE

The fine monuments to the Cave family comprise an altar tomb to Sir Thomas Cave and Elizabeth, his wife, with inscription round ledge of tomb dated "M° D° 58." He is in plate armour, dog at feet. At the foot are six sons and eight daughters; on the front three shields of arms.

A cenotaph, raised on a pedestal against the north wall of the chancel, under which is the effigy of a man kneeling, his hands joined in prayer. "Piæ posteritari sacrum Richardo Cave, primogenito Thomæ Cave equitis," dated 1606.

And within the rails of the altar an exceedingly magnificent monument to Sir Thomas Cave and his wife, dated 1616.

He lies under an arch (having entablature with arms and scroll-work above) in plate armour, a hound at his feet. On the podium are five sons and three daughters, all kneeling.

In the north aisle there is a large and very refined late Elizabethan monument to Henry Knollis and Margaret, his wife, with the dates left blank. He is in armour; she in stomacher, ruff and farthingale; she lies below her husband. At each end of the monument is an almost life-size figure of a daughter kneeling and facing each other. "To Henry Knollis Esquire for the body unto the Queen's Majesty, and Margaret his wife, daughter and sole heir of Sir Ambrose Cave."

This Sir Ambrose Cave lies under a monument adjoining bearing the arms of Cave and Genell impaled with those of Willington; was High Sheriff for Warwickshire and Leicestershire in 1549. In 1563 he was Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster and one of the Privy Council to Queen Elizabeth. He was in high favour with the Queen, and an intimate friend of Lord Treasurer Burleigh. At a Court festival Her Majesty's garter slipped off whilst dancing. Sir Ambrose, seeing it, picked it up, offering it on bended knee; but the Queen refusing to accept it, he tied it round his left arm, declaring he would wear it thus as long as he lived. He died 1568, his daughter Margaret being then nineteen years old.

STAPLEFORD

In the modern church, erected about 120 years ago, has been preserved an altar tomb, formerly in the old church, which no longer exists. It is placed in the little south transept, an iron railing in front, and is of black and white marble, upon which are the effigies of William Lord Sherard, died 1640, and Abigal, his wife; the latter surviving him erected the monument, "most affectionately dedicated to his memory for him, herselfe, and their children." The knight is in armour, with sword and

Lord Sherard's Monument, Stapleford Church.

Beaumont Monument, Coleorton Church.

mantle, a ram at his feet. His wife, on his right, is in a flowing robe; open book in her right hand; a greyhound with collar at her feet.

On either side of the effigies are miniature figures, three sons in half-armour and a daughter, each kneeling on a cushion; another son on a cushion in the middle of the tomb; at the head and foot an infant daughter, both in swaddling-clothes.[1]

STAUNTON HAROLD

An interesting monument to Sir Robert Shirley, a staunch Cavalier, who founded the church, remarkable as being one of the very few built during the Commonwealth. Under the battlements of the chancel is the following: "Sir Robert Shirley, Baronet, founder of this church, Anno Domini MDCLIII, on whose soul God have mercy." The inscription over the entrance to the church states: "In the year 1653, when all things sacred throughout the Nation were either demolished or profaned, Sir Robert Shirley, Baronet, founded this Church whose singular praise it is to have done the best thing in the worst times And hoped them in the most calamitous. The Righteous shall be had in everlasting remembrance."

There are other tablets and a grandiose altar monument to the Right Hon. Robert Shirley, Lord Tamworth, who died 1714. He is in the dress of the times, a large wig, flowing cravat, &c.

STOCKERSTON

In the south wall of the south chapel within an arch there remains an effigy in mail, cross-legged, with sword and shield. Over it hangs a helme. There is another effigy, mutilated but showing mail, surcoat and sword, hands joined in prayer.

[1] This monument is doubtless the work of Nicholas Stone.

STONTON-WYVILE

On the north side of the chancel is a rather fine Elizabethan altar tomb to Edmund Brudenell (died 12th May 1590) and Elizabeth, his wife, one of the daughters of William Burnell of Wickborne, in the county of Nottingham, and their two sons and two daughters (one of which died in infancy). He is shown in legal robe, with ruff, purfled sleeves and ruffles, his head on a cushion, hands elevated and closed. At his feet a sea-horse *naiant*. To his right and upon a little open arcaded table rests an infant son in swaddling-clothes. Towards his head, on the front of the tomb, is his wife in a panel by herself, and behind her a son and two daughters.

The inscription tablet is over the tomb. The arms at the west end: Brudenell, single; at the east: Brudenell impaling *argent* a lion rampant *sable*. On the pilasters are shields of Brudenell (six times) and a lion rampant (once).

The heraldry is not coloured, and apparently never has been.

STOUGHTON

In the north aisle, on a large altar tomb, are the effigies of Thomas Farnham, Teller of the Exchequer in the reign of Queen Mary, died 1562, and Helen, his widow, died 1569. He is in armour, with long beard, chain, and ruffles; she in a robe under-gown, ruff and cap, gown and cap; both with hands uplifted. "In grateful remembrance of their worthy ancestors this tomb was re-edified and repaired by Arabella and Christina Beaumont and William Busby, Esq., 1739."

There is also near the above a marble mural tablet with the painted effigies of Sir Thomas Beaumont, died 1614, and Katherine, his wife, died 1621. He is in armour, and both kneel at a desk; three sons behind him, seven daughters behind her. "This monument was erected at the care and

cost of the Lady Eliza Richardson, Baroness of Cramond, their eldest daughter, Anno 1631."

SUTTON CHENEY

In this church, on the north side of the chancel, is a large alabaster altar tomb to Sir William Roberts, died 1633, and his two wives, Katherine and Elizabeth. He is in plate armour, hands in prayer, and above him, forming a mural monument, are his wives kneeling at desks facing one another. The work was executed during his life and is of good design.

There is also a small mural monument on the south side of the chancel to "Galfridus May," died 1635. He is in gown, ruff, long beard, and kneels at desk. Arms and crest above.

SWEPSTON

There is an altar tomb under an arch in the north aisle, but with no inscription. Effigy much mutilated, face covered with close-fitting cap and wimple hiding the chin. At her feet a lion. On both the fronts of the tomb are the coats of Charnels and Trussell and Trussell and Charnels impaled.

Upon another altar tomb is the effigy in alabaster of William Humpfrey, who died 1591. He is in half-armour, hair in curls, double chain round neck, hands joined in prayer, sword on left side, his gauntlets lie on his right. At his feet a lion.

THEDDINGWORTH

In the north chapel against the north wall is a handsome and lofty monument. Between Corinthian columns a man and woman lie at full length, one above the other. He, in the upper compartment, rests on right arm and holds in left a small book and wears a fur-edged gown thrown open. She wears a long-waisted gown with plaited flounces.

Below on the front of the monument are two sons and two daughters, all kneeling. There is no inscription, but the arms at the top of the monument are probably those of George Chambre of Potten, who died 1635.

On the south wall of the same chapel is a mural monument to George Bathurst of Hothorp, died 1656, and Elizabeth, his wife, died 1650. The monument consists of an inscription tablet, a podium on which are the figures of their thirteen sons (one in swaddling-clothes) and four daughters. The central space contains two wreathed ovals with life-sized busts, and above these a frieze and cornice, broken pediment, and between, the arms and crest; *sable*, two bars *ermine* and in chief three crosses patée *or;* crest, a dexter arm in mail embowed holding in the hand a holy water sprinkler *or* all proper; Bathurst.

THURLASTON

Within an ogeed and cusped arch in the north wall lies an effigy probably of the founder of the Turville chantry (1297). He is bareheaded, with a fillet round the head, clad in a robe to the knees, but belted at the waist; the lower parts of the legs are gone, but the cross-legged attitude is distinctly evident, and most unusual in the case of a civilian. In the opinion of the late Mr. Bloxam accounted for as being the effigy of one of the *cruce signati*, or those who contributed in money to the pilgrimages made to the Holy Land.

On a low altar tomb are the effigies of Hugo Turville, died 1347, and Agnes, his wife—"de quele aime Dieu eit mercy." There is a shield with coat of Turville. Agnes's effigy is much mutilated. Hugo's is in loose super-tunic and hood, bareheaded, holding heart in hands.

A large altar tomb has the effigies of a man and a woman, believed to be John Turville, 1509, and Katherine, his wife. He is in plate armour, with collar of S.S., his right arm missing, head rests on a helme, hands in prayer,

Fawnt Monument, Foston Church.

lion at feet. She has a cap fastened like a coronet with flowing veil, her head rests on a pillow supported by angels. She wears a long robe, necklace and pendant. No part of an inscription remains. At the sides of the tomb, angels crowned and with wings, stand under ogeed, cusped, and crocketed canopies, and hold shields, formerly emblazoned with arms.

The mural tablet to Edward Turville, died 1629, and another to Elizabeth Turville, died 1653, are fair specimens of seventeenth-century work.

TILTON-ON-THE-HILL

There are two very large early effigies in this church of a knight and a lady. He is in coat of mail with sleeveless surcoat, over and upon the left arm a large shield, *azure* charged with a fleur-de-lys *argent;* on the sinister chief a half moon, dexter chief, a sun obliterated. On his left side is a sword, his left hand holds the scabbard and his right is in the act of drawing it. He is cross-legged, and at his feet a lion with the fore-paws on a man's head. "+Jehan de Digby gist ici praies pur lui."

The lady is that of Arabella, his wife, daughter of Sir William Harcourt. She is in flowing robes, on the head is a veil, the left hand holds a scroll, hanging down in front, which formerly bore a painted inscription. This scroll is an interesting and somewhat unusual feature. The other known examples are at Rochester, the Queen of Henry I. in the west front, and the sepulchral effigies in Scarsdale, Derbyshire, Avon Dassett, Warwickshire, and Bedale, Yorkshire, these three latter being also of the thirteenth century. The following charges are now obliterated: on the upper garment fleur-de-lys; on the inner *or* two bars three crosslets in chief *gules;* Harcourt. At her feet a lapdog. These Digby effigies are unfortunately much abrased.

Against the south wall, near the east end of the south

aisle, is an altar tomb on which lies an effigy in armour, short coat of mail, hands in prayer, shield with fleur-de-lys, his feet resting against a lion. On the front of the tomb are the arms within quatrefoils four times repeated. Round the edge an inscription in raised letters, "Hic jacet Everardus Diggeby, Dñs de Tilton et stok dri qui obiit . . . Anno Dñi MCCCCC nono; cujus a'i'e propitiatur Deus. Amen."

There is also an effigy in plate armour of one of the Digby family, the father of Sir Everard Digby who was implicated in the Gunpowder Plot. A peculiarity in this case is the tilting shield affixed to the left arm, with the rest for the tilting lance. This was long after the fashion of representing shields on effigies had ceased.

In the chancel against the north wall is a small late seventeenth-century mural monument in alabaster to Augustin Nicholls, Esq. The monument is flanked by two Corinthian pilasters of black marble, between which a man and a woman kneel before a circular pillar. Behind them their six sons and six daughters are kneeling.

WHITWICK IN CHARNWOOD FOREST

On an altar tomb in the north aisle there is a mutilated effigy in armour, upwards of seven feet long, in memory of Sir John Talbot, who died about 1380. The helme under his head bears the mutilated inscription, "Misere Mei Deus Jesus Nazarenus Rex Judæorum."

WITHCOTE

The church, erected early in the sixteenth century, and described by Nichols as "a beautiful little fabric like an elegant college chapel," is in a good state of preservation. Unfortunately no monuments remain, but there are fragments, no doubt parts of a fair-sized monument. One, an angel holding a shield, and above the angel is written,

Slate Headstone, St. Martin's Church, Leicester.

(To Thomas Herrick, died 1776, displaying the Herrick arms and crest.)

Slate Headstone, Melton Mowbray Churchyard.

(Date 1776.)

"Lyve to dye—dye to lyve;" and below, "Here lieth the body of Ambrose Smith, Esquire, who died the 27th of July in the fear of Our Lord God, 1584, whose soule we hope God hath received to his mercy."

WISTOW

At the north side of the chapel is a mural altar tomb to "Sir Richard Halford, K^{t} and Baroun^{t}," died 1658. The monument records the death of other Halfords, and ends with—

> "Weep not to read so many Worthies dead,
> But weep to see so few left in their stead."

On the altar slab is a recumbent figure, nearly life-size, of the knight in armour, his right hand supporting his head, the left hand on his sword, and on each side of him kneels a son in armour.

WYMONDHAM

An early fourteenth-century effigy of Sir John Hamelin, in hauberk and surcoat, cross-legged, lies in the south transept, and is in an excellent state of preservation. This figure was fixed upright against one of the walls, in order to preserve it, by the Earl of Harborough in 1790, or thereabouts. It now rests on the altar tomb of Sir Thomas Berkeley (*ob.* 1488).[1]

THE SWITHLAND SLATE HEADSTONES OF THE SEVENTEENTH AND EIGHTEENTH CENTURIES

Some of these headstones, in the mellow green of the Swithland slate, to which age and weather have added delicate brown and yellow tints, are really charming works and worthy of closer study than they seem to have had, for both in spirit and execution they are excellent. Even those

[1] A Berkeley crest and helme, said to have come from Wymondham Church, were in Sir Noel Paton's collection in 1880.

of the early years of the nineteenth century possess considerable merit, but degeneration thenceforward rapidly set in, owing in a great measure to the importation and cheapness of the Welsh slate. Its heavy purple colour offered little inducement to put skilful work on so unsympathetic a material. It is therefore a great pity that the old methods and traditions are lost, and that neither the craftsmen exist nor is the Swithland slate now quarried for this purpose. The ornament produced by the old carvers, though one is bound to admit that the lettering often runs into exuberance, is admirable, and is in most cases picked out and emphasised in gold leaf, and it remains after a hundred and fifty or two hundred years astonishingly fresh and rich. These characteristics are most elusive when an attempt is made to sketch or photograph; their extreme delicacy of ornament, the colour of the slate, and the gilding combine to make it almost impossible to convey by illustration their general effect. Fortunately the examples in Leicester, at St. Martin's and St. Nicholas's, are many and good, and they can be studied without difficulty; others, of course, exist in the outlying village churchyards and some extend beyond the shire, as, for instance, to Grantham. The old sculpture masons put their names to their work, and such names as Bell, Kirk, and Riley one finds constantly repeated.

Those in memory of the Heyrick family in the chapel at the east end of the north aisle in St. Martin's Church, Leicester (formerly called the "Heyrick's Chancel"), have many with coats of arms and crests carved in slight relief and emblazoned, which add much to the interest and richness of the work. Some of the inscriptions, while avoiding the bombast of a later period, are discursive and quaint, as thus: "Here lyeth buried the bodie of John Heyricke of this parish, who departed this life on 2nd of Aprill 1589, being about the age of 76. He did marry Marie, the daughter of John Bond of Wardend, in the county of Warwicke, Esq., who lived with the said Marie in one

Slate Headstone, Cosby Churchyard.

house full fifty-two years, and in all that tyme never buried man, woman, nor childe, though they were sometimes 20 in household. He had issue by the said Marie five sons and seven daughters, viz., Robert, Nicholas, Thomas, John, and William, and daughters Ursula, Agnes, Marie, Elizabeth, Ellen, Christian, and Alice. The John was mayor of this town in the year 1559 and again in 1572. The said Marie departed this life the 8th of December 1611, being of the age of 97 years. She did see before her departure of her children and children's children and their children to the number of 142."

On another: "Here lyeth the body of Robert Heyrick, ironmonger and Alderman of Leicester, who had been thrise maior thereof." He was eldest son of the above, lived seventy-eight years, "and after dyed very godly, the 14th of June in the yeare 1618." "All flesh is grasse, both yonge and old must die; and so we passe to judgment by and by."

It will be of interest to add a few particulars as to the locality and working of the Swithland slate pits. These are situated on the westerly verge of Charnwood Forest, "by a little brook that runneth towards Quorn," the position roughly being about six miles from Leicester and five miles from Loughborough.

These pits have been worked within the last fifty years, but are now practically closed. Nichols, writing at the end of the eighteenth century, states that the proprietors were the Earl of Stamford, the Hon. Butler Dawson, and Mr. Hind, the latter "a gentleman well known for his ingenious devices on these slate stones." And he adds that the slates are raised as blocks, blasted from an almost seamless rock, the depth of soil to the stratum of the slate being 30 to 50 feet. The extensive pits thus formed have transformed a beautiful undulating district into striking and romantic scenery, rugged and almost weird in parts. Nichols gives the price then obtained for the slates for gravestones, which were dressed smooth on the face, but left the natural cleavage at the back. "All under 20 inches wide and at

20 inches are charged 20 pence a foot." The price is raised a penny an inch as they advance in width till they are "30 inches wide, then the price is 2 shillings and 6 pence till they are 3 feet wide, from 3 feet and above the price is 2 shillings and 9 pence a foot."

The use of the Swithland slate was not confined to headstones, as witness the elaborate and curious altar-tomb in this material in the churchyard at Swithland to Sir Joseph Danvers, Bart., whereon are represented such subjects as ploughing a field, building a house, a castle, the sea, and a ship, &c.

BELVOIR CASTLE

By George Manners

FROM whatever point of view the castle of Belvoir is approached, the eye cannot fail to be struck by its commanding situation, dominating as it does the whole of the vast vale of Belvoir, crowning the end of a long ridge of high ground, from which it stands forth on its own peak in solitary grandeur. Here a castle has stood since the days when Robert de Todeni, a Norman adherent of William the Conqueror, set himself to erect the first building here of which there is any record. A rough representation of this early castle appears on a seal of William de Albini, to whom it afterwards passed. It appears as a solid embattled structure of three tiers—the two upper ones having Norman arches on the face and pilaster buttresses. The whole is surrounded by a fortified outer wall.

Robert de Todeni's castle appears to have lasted till the Wars of the Roses, when the Lancastrian Thomas Lord de Ros[1] was attainted by the victorious Yorkist party. It was forfeited in 1461 and granted to Lord Hastings, who let it fall into decay. Twenty-four years later Belvoir was restored by Henry VII. to Edmund, son of the late Lord de Ros. He died childless, and his sister married Sir Robert de Manners[2] of Etal Castle in Northumberland, thus introducing the Manners' ownership of Belvoir, which has

[1] The first Baron de Ros (grandson of Robert de Ros of Hamlake in Yorkshire and Werke in Northumberland) acquired Belvoir by his marriage with the heiress of the Albinis in 1244.

[2] An earlier Sir Robert Manners, constable of Norham, is said to have been the son of a certain William de Manners, who died in 1349. He obtained a grant of land in Berington, Northumberland, in 1329, and petitioned the King for Learmouth on account of his own and his father's

continued till to-day. On his death, his nephew George, in right of his mother, took the title of Lord Roos.[1] He was sent by Henry VII. on an expedition into Scotland. He was equally in favour with Henry VIII., and was present at the siege of Terouenne and afterwards at that of Tournay, where he died 1513. He was buried in the Rutland Chapel, in the north aisle of St. George's Chapel, Windsor. He had married Ann, daughter and heir of Sir Thomas St. Ledger, by Ann Plantagenet, sister of Edward IV.

Thomas, Lord Roos, his eldest son, succeeded him, and in 1525 was made a Knight of the Garter. In the same year he was created Earl of Rutland—a special honour, as it was a royal title, as is symbolised in the augmentation of arms granted at the same time in allusion to his descent from King Edward IV.'s sister.

This Earl was appointed Warden of the Marches, and accompanied the Duke of Norfolk in his invasion of Scotland, where twenty towns and villages were burnt by them in one week. He was Lord Chamberlain to Anne of Cleves, and in 1540 was appointed Chief Justice in Eyre

services in the Scottish wars in 1331. In 1340 he was M.P. for Northumberland; in 1341 he aided Lord Grey of Werk in stopping a raid of the Earl of Sutherland. In 1342 he was allowed to embattle Etal in Northumberland; and this founded the influence of his family in that district. He arranged the truce with David Bruce the same year, and when the Scots invaded England in alliance with the French in 1346, he took part in the battle of Neville's Cross. He seems to have died in 1355, as in that year the custody of Etal was given to the Lethams, who were afterwards, in the interest of the heir, accused of wasting it. Sir Robert's wives were Margaret and a certain Ada. The pedigree is differently stated, possibly because of the two seats of the family, but it is certain that his heir was John Manners, who was born in 1355. Possibly John was a grandson of Sir Robert.

The second Sir Robert Manners (1408–61) was probably grandson of Sir John Manners. He was a Justice of the Peace for Norhamshire in 1438, when he succeeded to the family property; was Sheriff of Northumberland in 1454, and M.P. for Northumberland in 1459. He died about 1461. He left four sons, one of whom, Sir Robert Manners, who was Sheriff of Northumberland in 1463–65, married Eleanor, daughter of Lord Ros, and so brought that title into the Manners family.

[1] Edmund, eleventh Baron de Ros, was not summoned to Parliament, and died 15th October 1508, when the barony fell into abeyance between his three sisters and co-heirs, which terminated in favour of George Manners, twelfth Baron de Ros, the son and heir of Sir Robert Manners by Eleanor his wife, sister and eventually in her issue sole heir of Edmund, eleventh Baron de Ros.

of all the King's forests beyond Trent. The King granted him many manors in Leicestershire, others in Norfolk and Cambridgeshire, some in Warwickshire, Northamptonshire, Shropshire, and Yorkshire. After the dissolution of the monasteries, he moved many ancient monuments of his ancestors of the Roos and Albini family from the Priory of Belvoir and from Croxton Abbey to Bottesford. He rebuilt a great portion of the castle, which had been destroyed in the wars. He was succeeded by his eldest son, Henry, as second Earl. Another son, John, married Dorothy, daughter and heiress of Sir George Vernon of Haddon.

Henry continued his father's task of rebuilding Belvoir, making it, as the ancient historians said, a nobler structure than it was before. He had many important posts in the reigns of Edward VI., Mary, and Elizabeth. He took Haddington in 1547, and in the reign of Philip and Mary he was made Captain-General of all the forces ordered to proceed to France; he was also appointed Admiral of the Fleet, and in 1561 he was made President of Her Majesty's Council in the North.

Henry was succeeded by his eldest son, Edward, the third Earl. He was made a Knight of the Garter, and the Queen promised to make him Lord Chancellor after the death of Sir Thomas Bromley. On the death of the latter, 12th April 1557, the Earl of Rutland was for a day or two styled Lord Chancellor. He died, however, on the 14th of that month, at his house at Ivy Bridge in the Strand. Camden says that he was a learned man and a good lawyer. His style of living was very expensive, and when he went to London about 1586 he had with him forty-one servants, including a chaplain, trumpeter, gardener, and apothecary. Leaving no male issue, he was succeeded by his brother in the earldom, while his daughter inherited the barony of Roos.[1]

[1] She married, when only thirteen, William Cecil, eldest son of Sir Thomas Cecil, who was eldest son of Lord Burleigh, afterwards Earl of Exeter. Her son, however, dying childless, the barony reverted to Francis, sixth Earl of Rutlan

He had been one of the noblemen appointed to sit on the commission for trying the Queen of Scots at Fotheringhay in 1586, and in the following year his successor, John Earl of Rutland, and his wife were ordered to attend her funeral at Peterborough. Their suite is recorded to have consisted of three gentlemen, three gentlewomen, and sixteen yeomen, all of whom, as well as the Earl and Countess, were provided with "blacks" out of the royal wardrobe.

Earl John was also a soldier, serving in the Irish War. He occupied various public offices, was Lord Lieutenant of Nottinghamshire, and died in 1588, after having held the title less than a year, leaving a large family. Roger, his second son, who succeeded at an early age, was a friend of his connection the Earl of Essex. Together with his two younger brothers, the Earl joined the ill-fated rebellion of Essex and was with them imprisoned in the Tower.

The Belvoir MSS. give many interesting particulars of their imprisonment, and include letters from Roger Manners (a member of the family), lamenting the defection of the head of the house "never yet spotted since it took being."

"Good Brother," he writes, "of this tumult this berer can tell you more than I haue will to write. I wold my three nephewes had never byn borne than by so horrible offence offende so gratius a sufferan, to the overthrow of ther howse and name for ever, alwais before loyal."

And again:—

"Joyn with (me) in prayer to the almightie that he will forgive the syns (of) ther youth and make them better servantes to him and our gratius soverayn, whos hart I trust he woll inclyne to have mercie of our miserable howse, so longue true and now defamed by them."

The Earl himself repents of "the stayne uppon my howse," and he was finally released on a fine of £30,000, which was afterwards reduced to a third of that amount.

The good offices of Sir Robert Cecil were no doubt instrumental in reducing the fine. We learn from a letter, May 27, 1601: "Sir George and Mr. Frauncys Manners

Old Belvoir.

were fyned at 4000 markes a peece, but Sir Robert Cecill hath begged both their fynes, and so we hope it will coste them litle or nothing." Francis Manners, too, repents of his share in so ill-advised an action, and takes his imprisonment "as a punishment from God for the wicked life" he had spent.

On the accession of James I., the king was entertained at Belvoir on his progress from Edinburgh to London. A contemporary writer, quoted in Eller's *History of Belvoir*, writes of this event as follows :—

"*April* 22, 1603.—The King rode from Newark to Belvoir, hunting all the way as he rode, saving that on the way he made four knights. By the right noble Earl of Rutland his Highness was not only royally, but most plenteously, received. Next morning, before he went to break his fast, he made forty-six knights; among them were Sir George and Sir Oliver Manners."

Before his death at the age of thirty-six Lord Rutland was made Knight of the Bath, was sent ambassador into Denmark, and married the daughter and heiress of Sir Philip Sidney.

He was succeeded by his brother Francis, the sixth Earl, who became a Knight of the Bath, and later was raised to the higher honour of the Garter, and made Lord Lieutenant of the counties of Rutland, Nottingham, and Northampton. He was Admiral of the Fleet which was sent to Spain to bring back Charles, Prince of Wales. By his first marriage he had one daughter, who married the Duke of Buckingham. The de Ros title going in the female line, her son took it, but, dying childless, this title fell into abeyance, until in 1806 it was called out in favour of Lady Henry Fitzgerald.[1]

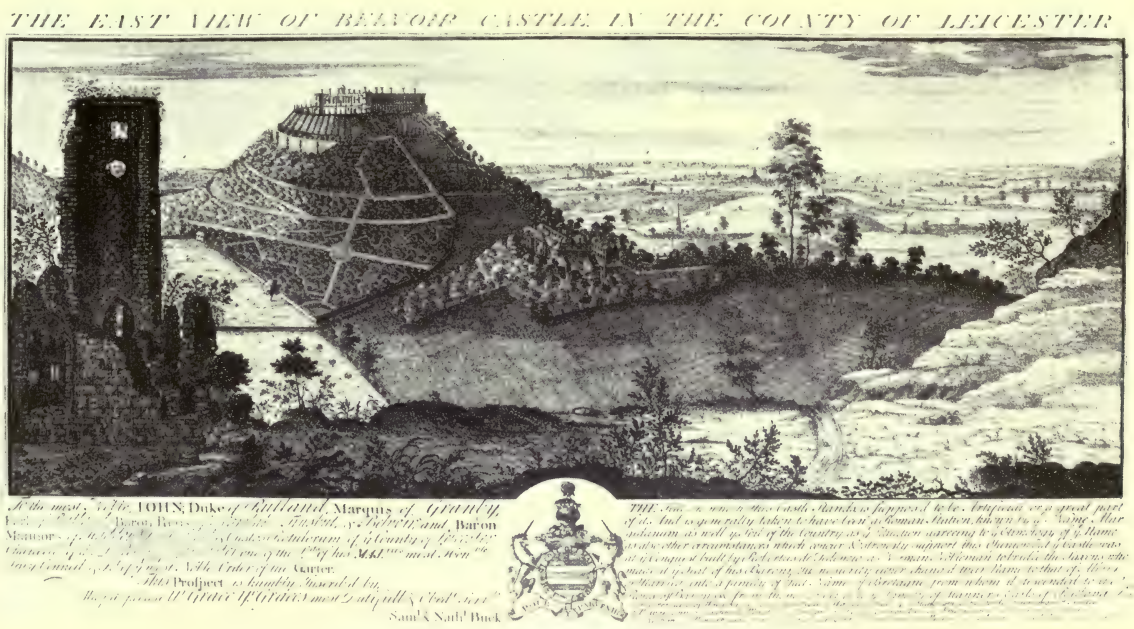
By his second marriage there were two boys, who both died young of "wicked practice and sorcery."

Nichols' *Leicestershire* gives a brief account of the trial of the "witches" concerned, both of whom were sentenced

[1] The present title of Roos, borne by the Duke of Rutland, is of modern creation.

to death, and condemned to be burnt alive. The mother and her two daughters had been in the service of Lord and Lady Rutland. For sufficient reason they were dismissed, and in revenge, according to their confessions, they entered into communion with familiar spirits, which helped them in their designs. The mother's was a cat, called "Rutterskin." They used to get the hair of a member of the family and burn it; they would steal their gloves and plunge them into boiling water, rubbing them on Rutterskin's back to effect bodily harm on their owners. They would also use frightful imprecations of wrath and malice towards the objects of their hatred. In these ways they were believed to have effected the death of Lord Rutland's son, and to have caused horrible sicknesses to other members of the family. Lord and Lady Rutland, described as an "amiable couple," were slow in suspecting harm of these women, but for some time there had been noticed a change in the face of the mother —a diabolical expression. At last, convinced that something was wrong, Lord Rutland had the mother and daughter conveyed to Lincoln gaol. The mother loudly protested innocence; and, calling for bread and butter, wished it might choke her if she was guilty of the offence laid to her charge. Taking a piece in her mouth, she immediately fell back dead.

Margaret Flower, on being examined, acknowledged that she had stolen the glove of the young heir of the family and given it to her mother, who had stroked Rutterskin with it, dipped it in hot water, and pricked it, whereupon Lord Roos fell ill and suffered extremely. In order to prevent Lord and Lady Rutland from having more children, they had taken some feathers from their bed, and a pair of gloves, which they had boiled in water mingled with blood. Both women admitted that they had familiar spirits, which came and sucked them at various parts of their bodies, and they also described visions of devils in various forms. Howell tells us in his Letters "That King James a great while was loth to believe there were witches, but that which


THE EAST VIEW OF BELVOIR CASTLE IN THE COUNTY OF LEICESTER
To the most Noble JOHN, Duke of Rutland, Marquis of Granby
Baron, Baron
and Baron
Manners
Prospect is humbly Inscribed &c.
Sam.l & Nath.l Buck

East View of Belvoir Castle in 1730.

happened to my lord Francis of Rutland's children convinced him."[1]

On Earl Francis's death in 1632, without male issue, his brother George became seventh Earl. Following the usual family traditions, he had done his soldiering in Ireland, where Lord Essex had knighted him for his bravery. In 1634 he was visited at Belvoir by King Charles, and died in 1641 without issue. He was succeeded by his cousin, John Manners of Haddon, as eighth Earl. Thus, in the person of the grandson of John Manners of Haddon, the two lines of the family of Manners were united, the present Duke of Rutland being directly descended from John Manners and Dorothy Vernon. During several generations the Manners inhabited Haddon alternately with Belvoir; indeed, during the vicissitudes that befell the castle during the civil wars, Haddon was their home.

The eighth Earl was one of the twenty-two who, in January 1642–43, refused to obey the King's summons to Oxford. Sir Gervase Lucas seized the castle for the King, and held it against the Parliamentarians. According to an account at Belvoir, he surprised the castle in the night, "in which was only the said Earl's steward, with some few neighbours and servants to preserve it from outrages, and not in any hostile manner." This important news was thus mentioned in 1642 as "of special consequence and importance for his Majesty's service; by reason of the situation of the castle on an hill of difficult access, and being built upon the confines of Lincoln and Leicestershire, with a very fair prospect into that of Nottingham—thus having a strong power and influence on all those three counties." The wrath of the family against Sir Gervase Lucas seems to have been aggravated by the fact that he and his wife had been members of the household of the Earl of Rutland. Hence, in one letter, Lucas is spoken of as "Judas," and his wife is styled "the mystery of iniquity."

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[1] Vol. i. p. 58.

In an account at Belvoir (written in 1661 ?) Gervase Lucas is described as having incessantly instigated his master, the Earl of Rutland, "but could not move him against his allegiance." He and his wife (formerly Lady Rutland's waiting gentlewoman) were "put away with disfavour, for just reasons."[1]

When Sir Gervase was Governor of Belvoir the Parliamentary forces made an attack on the Royalist garrison, which appears to have offered a most gallant resistance, one of the besieging force reporting "the works were the strongest I have seen in England." He adds, "We have possessed ourselves of the spring which supplies them with water," and the surrender was inevitable; the garrison, however, exacting the privilege of marching out with all the honours of war—"colours flying, drums beating, matches lighted, musquets laden with bullets."

In 1649 it was "ordered that it is for the service and safety of the Commonwealth that the Castle of Belvoir be demolished, and the small sum of £1500 ordered to be paid to the owner as compensation."[2] The Earl of Rutland, we are told, then went to live at Haddon, where, according to

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[1] "The King making Lucas Governor of Belvoir, Lucas received three whole yeares rent du to the Earle of Rutland, which were about 10,000*l.*, impoverished his tenants, made havocke of deere in the chase, cut downe all the trees about the Castle, which utterly defaced the seat, and a great number of trees remote from the Castle, spoyled the furniture left there, and imbezzelled linnens and other furniture to his owne proper use. These irreparable losses caused the Earle of Rutland to lay several great actions on Lucas, he comming into England under protection of Oliver Cromwell, who rendring himselfe to the Earle upon mediation of friends entred into bond of 1000*l.* to answer to the Earle of Rutland his old reckonings, and to be responseable for what could be prooved he converted to his own use. Upon this bond he was arrested, and committed to the Fleete, where he was until His Majesty by the Lord Chancellour commanded the Earle of Rutland to discharge him from that imprisonment."—*Hist. MSS. Comm.*, 12 Report, App., Part V., vol. ii.

[2] "J. EYRE *to* HENRY WRIGHT *at Belvoir Castle.*

"*May* 4, 1649. Concerning horses. Its not yet fully resolved what's to be done to Belvoir Castle. Will it not trouble you to have a hand in pulling downe Belvoir Castle? I believe it, but it cannot be helpt, better soe then by strangers. And God's will be done. I must tell you I am very angry and grieved, but who cares for it?"—*Belvoir MSS.*, *Hist. MSS. Comm.*, 12 Report, App., Part V., vol. ii.

all accounts, he kept open house till the monarchy was restored, when he was at once received into the royal favour. In 1666 he was appointed Lord-Lieutenant of Leicestershire. He then set to work to restore Belvoir, which was finished in 1668, and gardens and plantations added. A model of this building exists in the guard-chamber of the present castle. He died at Haddon at the age of seventy-five, and was buried in Bottesford Church, where he has a monument. His successor was John, the ninth Earl, his third and only surviving son. The family fortunes appear to have been quickly restored from their shattered condition, for we are informed that, being possessed of a magnificent fortune, he could exercise to the full the old English hospitality which he greatly affected. It is recorded of him that he had more numerous attendants than perhaps any nobleman in the Kingdom. In buck-hunting times he and his men were always clothed in green. In 1703 he was created Marquis of Granby and Duke of Rutland.

This first Duke died at Belvoir in 1710, and was succeeded by his son John, who married Katharine, daughter of Lady Rachel Russell, who described her son-in-law as "one of the two best matches in England," the other being the Duke of Devonshire.

A most interesting account is given of the progress of the young couple to Belvoir, which, according to Sir James Forbes, was more like the progress of a king and queen. "At the first entry into Leicestershire they were received by the High Sheriff at the head of all the country gentlemen, who all paid their respects. She was attended next day by the same gentlemen and by thousands of other persons who came to wish them both joy with huzzas and acclamations. As they drew nearer to Belvoir, our train increased with seven coaches, and with fresh troops of aldermen and corporations, besides a great many clergymen, who presented the bride and bridegroom with verses on their happy marriage. At the gate were four and twenty

fiddlers all in a row; four and twenty trumpeters with their tantara-ra-ras; four and twenty ladies, and as many parsons, and in great order they went in procession to the great apartment. After this the time passed away till supper in visiting all the apartments of the house, and in seeing the preparations for the sack posset, which was the most extraordinary thing I ever did see, and much greater than represented to be. After supper, which was exceedingly magnificent, the whole company went in procession to the great hall, the bride and bridegroom first, and all the rest, in order, two and two; then it was the scene opened, and the great cistern and the healths began, first in spoons, some time after in silver cups; and though the healths were many, and great variety of names given to them, it was observed after one hour's hot service the posset did not sink above an inch, which made my Lady Rutland call in all the family, and then upon their knees the bride and bridegroom's healths with prosperity and happiness were drunk in tankards brim full of sack posset. This lasted till 12 o'clock, &c." The "great cistern" here referred to is the magnificent silver punch bowl of superb workmanship which is now one of the sights of Belvoir. It weighs nearly two thousand ounces, and holds fifty gallons.

John was succeeded by his son John. It was this Duke who finally migrated from Haddon Hall to Belvoir. He also built a lodge in the deer park at Croxton, where he and his family retired from time to time to escape from the splendours of Belvoir. To Belvoir he added a picture gallery, and began that fine collection of paintings which was so severely damaged by the fire in 1816. It is said of the Duke that he loved to buy a picture at an auction and carry it home himself, declaring that "no man deserved to have a good picture who would not carry it home."

The Duke's eldest son was the "generous Granby," who commanded the British troops in Germany in the Seven Years' War, and was in 1766 made Commander-in-Chief. He resigned all his appointments in 1770, and died in the

JOHN, MARQUIS OF GRANBY.

same year, during the lifetime of his father, who, living till 1779, was succeeded by Lord Granby's son, Charles. The latter married a very beautiful and attractive woman, Lady Mary Isabella Somerset. Owing to the influence of Pitt, he was made Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland. He is better known as the patron of Crabbe.

It was through the friendship of the Duke with Burke that the poet Crabbe owed his appointment as domestic chaplain at Belvoir. Though he won the friendship of the Duke and Duchess, there is evidence in Crabbe's letters that his position chafed him at times, and that he was glad to exchange the magnificence of Belvoir for an independence of his own. During his chaplainship Crabbe enjoyed the comparatively unceremonious life at Croxton better than the state of Belvoir.

The Duke was "an amiable and extravagant peer without any particular talent except for conviviality." The utmost magnificence signalised the entertainments of the viceregal court, and the Duke and Duchess "were reckoned the most handsome couple in Ireland." In the summer of 1787 he went for a tour through the country, and was entertained at the seats of many noblemen. "During the course of this tour," says Wraxall, "he invariably began the day by eating at breakfast six or seven turkey's eggs as an accompaniment to tea and coffee. He then rode forty and sometimes fifty miles, dined at 6 or 7 o'clock, after which he drank very freely, and concluded by sitting up to a late hour, always supping before he retired to rest." His premature death, during his Lord-Lieutenancy, is not surprising.

His son, the fifth Duke, began rebuilding the castle on a very magnificent scale. Unfortunately the castle was partly ruined by a fire, which destroyed the north-east and north-west parts and over a hundred pictures. The Duke at once commenced to repair the damage, placing in the corner stone of the new building a document with these words: "Having committed the superintendence of the

building to Sir John Thoroton, Knight, and Mr. Turner as clerk of the works, fully confiding in their ability to temper splendour with prudence, and comfort with economy, but more particularly conscious that—

> "'Except the Lord build the house
> Their labour is but lost that build it.'"

The Duke was succeeded by his eldest son, Charles Cecil John, in 1857. He was a considerable politician and a great advocate of Fair Trade, but fox-hunting and, in later years, shooting occupied his principal time. He was succeeded by his brother, better known as "Lord John," who was typical of the best of England's great landlords, a *Grand Seigneur*, who carried out the duties of his position with thoroughness and ability. On his death at a very ripe old age in 1906 he was succeeded by his son Henry as eighth Duke.

The history of the family is abundantly illustrated in the letters and papers preserved at Belvoir, and printed by the *Historical MSS. Commission.* "As might be expected from the interesting fact that the historic estate of Belvoir has descended to its present owner from its Domesday tenant *in capite*, the collection is rich in early deeds; but the number of these is partly due to the circumstance that the Benedictine Priory, founded by the Domesday holder at the foot of the castle hill, was obtained at the Dissolution by his descendant the lord of Belvoir, who thus became possessed of the charters granted by his ancestors to that foundation."[1]

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[1] *Introduction to Belvoir Castle MSS.*, vol. iv. By J. H. Round.

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